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THE
METHOOD
OF
TEACHING and STUDYING
THE
BELLES LETTRES,
OR

An Introduction to LANGUAGES, POETRY,
RHETORIC, HISTORY, MORAL
PHILOSOPHY, PHYSICKS, &c.

WITH
Reflections on TASTE; and Instructions with
regard to the ELOQUENCE of the PULPIT,
the BAR, and the STAGE.

The whole illustrated with Passages from the most
famous POETS and ORATORS, antient and mo-
dern, with Critical Remarks on them.

Designed more particularly for STUDENTS in
the UNIVERSITIES.

*By Mr. ROLLIN, late Principal of the University of
Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College,
and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and
Belles Lettres.*

Translated from the *French*.

VOL. II.

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Designed more particularly for Students in
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By the Rev. J. H. Bell, D.D.,
Principal of the University of
Oxford, and of the Bell's Letters
and the Bell's Letters of the Bell's Letters

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VOL. II

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Printed by A. Bell, at the Bell's Letters, in the Bell's Letters
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BOOK III.

OF RHETORIC.

THOUGH nature and genius are the chief foundations of eloquence, and that these alone sometimes enable us to attain it; we yet must own, that precepts and art may be of great service to an ^a orator, whether he uses them as guides to furnish him with just rules and directions for distinguishing beauties from faults, or for improving and bringing to perfection the advantages he received from nature.

^b These precepts, founded on the principles of good sense, and right reason, are only the judicious observations of learned men on the discourses of the best orators, which were afterwards digested into order, and united under certain heads; whence it was said, that eloquence was not the offspring of art, but art of eloquence.

^a Ego in his præceptis hanc vim & hanc utilitatem esse arbitror, non ut ad reperiendum quid dicamus arte ducamur, sed ut ea quæ natura, quæ studio, quæ exercitatione consequimur, aut recta esse confidamus, aut prava intelligamus; cum, quo referenda sint, didicerimus. *Cic. 2. de orat. n.*
232.

VOL. II.

^b Ego hanc vim intelligo esse in præceptis omnibus, non ut ea secuti oratores eloquentiæ laudem sint adepti; sed, quæ sua sponte homines eloquentes facerent, ea quosdam observasse, atque id egisse. Sic esse non eloquentiam ex artificio, sed artificium ex eloquentia natum. *1. de orat. n.*
146.

B

From

From thence 'tis easily conceived, that rhetoric without the perusal of good authors, is lifeless and barren; and that ^c examples in this, as in all other things, are infinitely more efficacious than precepts; and indeed the rhetorician only, at a distance, as it were, points out the way which youth are to follow; whereas the orator seems to take them by the hand, and lead them into it.

As the end then proposed in the class of rhetoric, is to teach them to apply the rules, and imitate the models or examples set before them; all the care of masters with regard to eloquence, is reduced to these three heads, precepts, the perusal of authors, and composition.

Quintilian tells us, the second of those articles was entirely neglected in his time; and that the rhetoricians bestowed all their study on the other two. To say nothing here of the species of composition, then in vogue, called Declamation, and which was one of the principal causes that corrupted eloquence; they entered into a long train of precepts, and into knotty and very often frivolous questions; which is the reason, that even Quintilian's rhetoric, though so excellent in other respects, appears vastly tedious in several places: He had too just a taste, not to observe, that the perusal of authors is one of the most essential parts of rhetoric, and most capable of forming the understanding of youth. ^d Yet, whatever good inclination he might have, it was impossible for him to stem the torrent; and therefore was obliged, in spite of all his endeavours, to conform in public, to a custom, that prevailed univer-

^c In omnibus ferè minus valent præcepta quam experimenta. *Quintil. l. 2. c. 5.*

^d Ceterum, sentientibus jam tum optima, duæ res impedi-

mento fuerunt: quòd & longa consuetudo aliter docendi fecerat legem, &c. *Quintil. l. 2. c. 5.*

versally; but followed, in private, that method which he judged the best.

This species of rhetoric is now generally taught in the university of Paris, and was attained by degrees. I'll dwell chiefly on that part, which relates to the perusal and explanation of authors, after having treated transiently of the other two, which, we may say, are, in some measure, comprehended in this.



C H A P. I.

Of the Precepts of Rhetoric.

THE best way to learn rhetoric, would be to draw it from its springs, that is, from Aristotle, Dionysius Halicarnassæus, Longinus, Cicero, and Quintilian. But since the perusal of these authors, especially the Greek, is much above the reach of such youth, as, in our days, are admitted into the class of rhetoric; the professors may explain by word of mouth, the solid principles found in those great masters of eloquence, which they ought to have made their private study; and content themselves with pointing out to their pupils, the most beautiful passages in Cicero and Quintilian, where the topics to be expounded are discussed; for methinks it would be a shame, to leave the class of rhetoric, without having some idea and knowledge of those authors, who have treated of the art with such success.

The most considerable part of rhetoric, does not consist so much in the precepts, as in the reflections accompanying them, and which shew their use. A man may know the various parts of an oration, that of the tropes and figures,

and the definitions very exactly, and yet may be very unfit for composition. These things are indeed useful and even necessary to a certain point, but not sufficient; being only, as it were, the body or outside of rhetoric. If the observations which give a reason for, and shew the effect of every precept, are not added, 'tis a body without a soul; but some examples will explain my meaning.

One rule of the exordium is, that the orator should speak very modestly of himself, in order to gain the favour of the judges; that he should not display his eloquence too much, and, if possible, even render that of the adverse council suspected. This is a good and very necessary precept, but Quintilian's reflections upon it are much more valuable. * "It is natural for us, says he, to be
 " prejudiced in favour of the weakest, and a religious judge hears very willingly a pleader or
 " advocate, when he thinks him incapable of
 " imposing upon his justice, and whom, he believes, ought not to be suspected. Thence, says
 " he, proceeded the care of the antients, to conceal their eloquence, in which they differ very
 " widely from the orators of our age, who make
 " the greatest efforts to shew theirs.

He elsewhere gives another still more laudable reason, being drawn from nature itself, and founded on the knowledge of man's heart. † "It
 " is never commendable, says he, in any man
 " to

* In his quoque commendatio tacita, si nos infirmos & impares ingenii contra agentium dixerimus . . . Est enim naturalis favor pro laborantibus; & iudex religiosus libentissime patronum audit, quem justitiæ suæ minimè timet. Inde

illa veterum circa occultandam eloquentiam simulatio, multum ab hac nostrorum temporum jactatione diversa. *Quintil. l. 4. c. 1.*

† Omnis sui vitiosa jactatio est, eloquentiæ tamen in oratore præcipuè; assertque audientibus

“ to boast of himself ; but an orator, of all people, appears with the worst grace, when his eloquence makes him vain. Such a conduct as this raises contempt and sometimes hatred in the auditors ; for there is something inexpressibly great, noble and sublime in the heart of man which can bear nothing above it. This is the reason we are willing to raise those who are dejected, or humble themselves, because it gives us an air of superiority ; and as that abject condition leaves no room for jealousy, a natural sensation of candor and humanity immediately succeeds it. On the contrary, he, who extols himself inordinately, shocks our pride, because we think, he contemns and debases us ; and seems to be less intent upon magnifying himself, than to render us contemptible.

Brevity is generally made one of the necessary qualities of narration, and is made to consist in saying no more than is necessary. If this precept be not explained, it will inform the mind but very little, and may lead us into mistakes ; but what Quintilian adds, sets it in the clearest light. § “ Although I observed that brevity consists in saying no more than what is necessary, I don’t

dientibus non fastidium modò, sed plerumque etiam odium. Habet enim mens nostra sublimè quiddam, & erectum, & impatiens superioris. Ideoque abjectos, aut summittentes se, libenter allevamus, quia hoc facere tanquam majores videmur ; & quoties discessit æmulatio, succedit humanitas. At, qui se supra modum extollit, premere ac despicere creditur ; nec tam se majorem, quam minores ceteros facere. *Quintil.*

l. II. c. I.

§ Quantum opus est autem, non ita solum accipi volo, quantum ad judicandum sufficit : quia non inornata debet esse brevitās, alioqui sit indocta. Nam & fallit voluptas, & minus longa quæ delectant videntur ; ut amœnum ac molle iter, etiamsi est spatii amplioris, minus fatigat quam durum arduumque compendium. *Quintil. l. 5. c. 2.*

“ however pretend, that the orator should confine
 “ himself to the bare stating the fact ; for though
 “ the narration should be short, it yet must have
 “ some ornaments, otherwise it will be artless and
 “ tedious. For pleasure deceives and amuses,
 “ and what gives delight seems of short duration ;
 “ in like manner as an agreeable smooth road,
 “ though of a considerable length, fatigues less
 “ than one that is short, but steep and rocky.

h “ It is plain, such reflections may be of great
 “ service towards giving us a just taste of elo-
 “ quence, and may even form and improve the
 “ style ; but jejune and over refined precepts,
 “ only cramp the genius, and thereby orations
 “ are produced, which have neither strength nor
 “ beauty.

M. Herfan, formerly professor in the college
du Plessis, under whom I was so happy as to
 study three years, and who formed some of the
 best masters that have since appeared in the uni-
 versity, composed on the plan here mentioned, an
 excellent system of rhetoric, introduced and inter-
 wove with the finest thoughts of the antients ; but,
 unhappily, ’twould take up too much time to dic-
 tate it ; and besides, I own my opinion is, that
 ’twould be better to read the beautiful passages of
 the antient rhetoricians in the authors themselves.

’Methinks then, for the sake of time, which is
 very precious in study, it were to be wished,
 that a printed system of rhetoric was used in the
 university, short, plain and clear, wherein true de-
 finitions should be given ; some reflections and exam-
 ples added to the precepts ; and the beautiful pas-

h His omnibus admiscebitur
 dicendi ratio . . . quæ alere
 facundiam, vires augere elo-
 quentiæ possit. Nam plerum-
 que nudæ illæ artes, nimia

subtilitatis affectatione frangunt
 atque concidunt quicquid est in
 oratione generosius, & omnem
 succum ingenii bibunt, & ossa
 detegunt. *Quintil. Proæm. l. 1.*

pages

pages on each topic in Cicero, Quintilian, and even Longinus, (since we now have so good a translation of him) pointed out. Part of those passages might be read to the boys in the class of rhetoric, and they themselves might consult the authors for the rest.

I am very sensible, 'tis difficult, if not impossible, to do all this to advantage in the compass of a year; and the best advice that can be given to parents, who would have their children make a good progress in this class, which may be of infinite advantage to them, during the remainder of their lives, whatever profession they may follow, is, to let them continue two years in it. For what probability is there that scholars, when almost but children, who have little judgment, and not much acquainted with the Latin tongue or the proper use of it, and probably, not very studious, should imbibe the precepts of so important an art, in so short a time?

The Romans had a far different idea of this study. As eloquence, among them, paved the way to all grandeur, such young people, as had care taken of them, applied themselves seriously to it, and spent several years under masters of rhetoric, as appears from Quintilian. But even at that time, they sometimes neglected that excellent method, of which one of the ancients complains; and ambitious fathers, attentive only to promote their children, hurried them to the bar, without giving them time to digest their studies, as though it were as easy to give them abilities, as a lawyer's gown: whereas had they made them pass through the ordinary degrees of literature, and allowed their judgment time to ripen, by a careful perusal of authors; to imbibe a great number of just philosophical principles, and to acquire a just stile; they then would have enabled their

sons to support all the weight and majesty of eloquence, with the greatest dignity and advantage.



C H A P. II.

Of Composition.

TIS particularly in rhetoric, that young people endeavour to display their genius by some composition ; and that the greatest care is taken to form them in this study, which is not only the most difficult, but the most important, and as it were the end and scope of all the rest. To succeed in it, they ought to have collected, from the good authors in the other classes through which they pass, a great number of terms and phrases of that tongue in which they propose to write ; so that when an occasion offers for expressing any thought in just and proper language, they may have recourse to their memory, which, like a rich treasure, will then supply such expressions as may be wanted.

A R T I C L E I.

Of Themes.

THE materials for composition are a kind of plan delineated by the master to his scholars, in order to point out what they are to say upon a subject given.

This plan may be laid down to the scholars either by word of mouth, by proposing a subject to be immediately discussed, and assisting them to invent, to range, and express thoughts ; or in writing, by dictating on some subject, materials for

composition, which must be digested, must supply thoughts, prescribe their order, and requires little more than to be amplified and adorned.

The former of these methods is not so much practised as the other, but is no less useful; and I am persuaded, that a little trial of it will convince, that nothing is better adapted to assist the invention of youth, than to make them from time to time compose after this method in the master's presence; by interrogating them *viva voce*, and making them invent what may be said on a subject. I'll give some examples of these plans for composition in the sequel of this work.

It is natural to begin with the easiest things, and such as are best adapted to the capacities of youth, as fables, for instance; for which end it will be proper to make them read for about a month, those of Phædrus, which are a perfect model for that species of composition.

Some of la Fontaine's might be added, which will teach them to introduce more thoughts with their fables, than we find in those of Phædrus, as Horace has done in that of the city and country mouse.

These fables are to be followed by short narrations which, at first, must be very simple, but afterwards embellished. They must likewise be followed by common places. Parallels, either between great men of different characters, whose history they have learnt; or different professions, of which Cicero has left us an example in his oration for Murena, where he makes a comparison between the art of war, and the practice of the law: or whether the parallels are to be drawn between different actions, as the same great orator * compares the military virtues of Cæsar with his clemency. These kind of subjects naturally suggest a great variety of ideas. Since

* In his Oration for Marcellus.

Since speeches and orations are the most difficult lessons in rhetoric, 'tis proper to reserve them for the last.

The topics of composition given by the master, whether in Latin or French, must be laboured with care, for on this the success of scholars chiefly depends. We must, as ⁱ Quintilian observes, remove all difficulties for them in the beginning; and give them themes proportionate to their capacities, which should be almost digested. After they have been thus exercised for some time, nothing will then remain, but to point out the path, as it were, to them; and give them a small sketch of what they are to say, in order to accustom them by degrees, to go alone and without assistance; afterwards, it will be proper to leave them entirely to their own genius, lest by being habituated to do nothing without help, they should fall into an idle sluggish disposition, which may prevent their attempting to find any arguments of themselves. ^k Something like this is observable in birds; whilst their young ones are tender and weak, the parent brings them food, but when they gather more strength, she accustoms them to go out of the nest, and teaches them to fly, by fluttering round them; and, at last, having made trial of their strength, she makes them take wing, and leaves them to themselves.

Among the duties of a rhetoric professor, the manner of correcting the compositions of scholars, is one of the most considerable and difficult.

ⁱ Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 7.

^k Cui rei simile quiddam facientes aves cernimus; quæ teneris infirmisque foetibus cibos ore suo collatos partiuntur: at cum visi sunt adulti, paululum

egredi nidis, & circumvolare sedem illam præcedentes ipsæ docent: tum expertas vires libero cælo suæque ipsorum fiducia permittunt. *Quintil. l. 2. c. 7.*

¹ Quintilian's reflections on this are extremely judicious, and may be very serviceable to masters. Those reflections will teach them particularly, to avoid an ill custom in masters, which is so much the more dangerous, as it proceeds from too much wit and delicacy; I mean the correcting the compositions of youth with too great severity and exactness.

Quintilian had treated of two kinds of narration, the one dry and unadorned, the other too luxuriant, and too much embroidered. ^m "Both, says he, are faulty; but the first especially, as it denotes sterility, which is worse than the other proceeding from too much fruitfulness. For we must neither require or expect a perfect discourse from a child; but I should have the greatest hopes of a fruitful genius, a genius that composes without assistance, and makes noble attempts, though it should sometimes take too great liberties. I am not offended to meet with some superfluities, in the compositions of young people: I would even have a master, like a good nurse, behave with the greatest softness towards his tender pupils; give the gentlest nourishment, and permit them to feed, as on delicious milk, on whatever is most gay and agreeable. Let us indulge them a little

¹ Lib. 2. c. 4.

^m Vitium utrumque: pejus tamen illud quod ex inopia, quam quod ex copia venit. Nam in pueris oratio perfecta nec exigi nec sperari potest: melior autem est indoles lata generosique conatus, & vel plura iusto concipiens interim spiritus. Nec unquam me in his discen- tis annis offendat, si quid su- perferit. Quin ipsis doctori-

bus hoc esse curæ velim, ut teneras adhuc mentes more nu- tricum mollius alant, & satiari veluti quodam jucundioris disci- plinæ lacte patiantur Au- deat hæc ætas plura, & inve- niat, & inventis gaudeat, sint licet illa interim non satis sicca & severa. Facile remedium est ubertatis: sterilia nullo la- bore vincuntur . . . 2. l. 2. c. 4.

“ in their rhetorical wantonness, if I may be allowed the expression ; let us suffer them to take some bold steps, to strike out, and delight in their own inventions, though their productions be neither correct nor just. It is easy to remedy too great a redundancy, but a barren genius is not to be assisted.

“ Those who have read Cicero, says Quintilian, know very well, that I have only followed his opinion on this occasion. He thus explains it in the second book *de Oratore*. I would have a young man, says he, give his genius its full scope, and discover fertility. Jejuneness in the masters is as dangerous, especially for children, as a dry and a scorched soil for tender plants. A young man in their hands is always groveling, and never has the courage to take noble flights, or attempt any thing above the common level. Meagerness passes with them for health, and what they call judgment, is mere weakness. They fancy 'tis enough to have no faults, but even by this, they fall into a very great one, which is, not to have one perfection.

° I must likewise observe, that nothing checks and damps the genius of children more than a master,

“ Quod me de his ætatibus sentire nemo mirabitur, qui apud Ciceronem legerit : *Volo enim se efferat in adolescente fecunditas*. Quapropter in primis evitandus, & in pueris præcipuè, magister aridus, non minus quam teneris adhuc plantis ficcum & sine humore ullo solum. Inde sunt humiles statim, & velut terram spectantes, qui nihil supra quotidianum sermonem attollere audeant. Ma-

cies illis pro sanitate, & iudicii loco infirmitas est : & dum satis putant vitio carere, in id ipsum incidunt vitium, quod virtutibus carent. *Ibid.*

° Ne illud quidem quod ad moneamus indignum est, ingenia puerorum nimiam interim emendationis severitate deficere. Nam & desperant, & dolent, & novissimè oderunt : & quod maximè nocet, dum omnia timent, nihil conantur. *Ibid.*

who

who is over severe and too difficult to be pleased ; for then they grieve, despair of success, and at last have an aversion to study ; and, what is as prejudicial on these occasions, while they are in perpetual fear, they dare not attempt even to do well.

P Let a master then take particular care to make himself agreeable to children, especially in their tender years, and thereby soften, by his engaging behaviour, the harshness of correction ; let him sometimes applaud one passage, find another tolerably well ; change this, and explain the reason of it ; amend that, by adding something of his own ; such is the method he should follow.

¶ “ The difference of age ought also to be considered, in the manner of correcting exercises, which should be proportioned to the progress scholars have made. As to myself, when I sometimes found their style too florid, and their thoughts more bold than just ; I used to tell them, it was very well for the present, but that a time would come, when I should not be so easy with them. This flattered their genius, and did not deceive their judgment.

I have nothing to add to these excellent reflections, except what Quintilian himself subjoins in another place, where he treats of the duty and qualifications of a master. “ Let him not refuse, “ says

P Jucundus ergo tum maximè debet esse præceptor : ut, quæ alioqui naturâ sunt aspera, molli manu leniantur : laudare aliqua, ferre quædam, mutare etiam, reddita cur id fiat ratione ; illuminare interponendo aliquid sui. *Ibid.*

¶ Aliter autem alia ætas emendanda est, & pro modo virium exigendum & corrigendum opus. Solebam ego di-

cere pueris aliquid ausis licentius aut lætius, laudare illud me adhuc : venturum tempus quo idem non permitterem. Ita & ingenio gaudebant, & judicio non fallebantur. *Ibid.*

¶ In laudandis discipulorum dictionibus nec malignus, nec effusus : quia res altera tædium laboris, altera securitatem parit. In emendando quæ corrigenda erant, non acerbus, mini-

“ says he, young people, the encomiums they
 “ deserve, neither would I have him be lavish of
 “ them on those occasions ; for the former dis-
 “ courages, and the latter makes them too secure,
 “ which may be of ill consequence. When he
 “ meets with any thing that requires correction,
 “ he ought not to treat his pupils with bitter or
 “ reproachful language ; for nothing gives them
 “ so much aversion to learning, as the being con-
 “ tinually reproved with an angry air, seemingly
 “ flowing from a spirit of hatred.

We see by this admirable passage, of which part only is copied, that the duty of a master in correcting the exercises of his pupils, does not consist merely in censuring improper expressions and thoughts, but that he must also explain the reason of their being so, and substitute others ; must supply them immediately with such phrases and periods, as may give a sublimity to their exercises, and make them more florid ; he should likewise make them revise these, when they don't please him at first sight. He must dictate from time to time, the corrected places ; at least, some part of them, which may afterwards serve for models. Above all, he must take care not to discourage his pupils by an air of too great severity, but, on the contrary, animate and cherish them, with hopes of success, by moderate and seasonable applause ; and by all the methods that can raise emulation and a love for study, in the minds of young people.

This emulation is one of the great advantages of university or school education ; and Quintilian reckons it as one of the most powerful reasons that can be given for preferring a publick to a private education.

miniméque contumeliosus. Nam sic objurgant, quasi oderint.
 id quidem multos à proposito *Quintil. l. 2. c. 1.*
 studendi fugat, quod quidam

“ A child, says he, can learn nothing at home,
 “ except what he is taught; but at schools, he
 “ learns what is taught others. He will daily see
 “ his master approving one thing, correcting ano-
 “ ther, blaming the idleness of this boy, applaud-
 “ ing the diligence of that. Every thing will be
 “ of use to him. The love of fame will inspire
 “ him with emulation: he will be ashamed to be
 “ outdone by his equals: he will even pant to ex-
 “ cel those who are more advanced than him-
 “ self. This animates youth; and though ambi-
 “ tion is a vice, we however may draw some good
 “ from it, and make it useful.

He afterwards speaks of the custom of giving
 places in the class once a month; and though this
 be inconsiderable and trite in itself, he yet blends
 it with his usual wit and sprightliness. “ Regu-
 “ lar examinations were appointed, says he, for
 “ judging of the improvement which scholars had
 “ made in their studies; and what endeavours did
 “ we not use to gain the victory? But to be the
 “ first in the class, and at the head of the rest, was
 “ the chief object of our ambition. However,
 “ the decision in this case was not final; for at a

“ Adde quod domi ea sola
 discere potest, quæ ipsi præci-
 pientur: in schola, etiam quæ
 aliis. Audiet multa quotidie
 probari, multa corrigi: pro-
 derit alicujus objurgata desidia,
 proderit laudata industria: ex-
 citabitur laude æmulatio: turpe
 duces cedere pari, pulcrum su-
 perasse majores. Accendunt
 omnia hæc animos: & licet
 ipsa vitium sit ambitio, fre-
 quenter tamen causa virtutum
 est. *Quintil. l. 1. c. 3.*

“ Hujus rei judicia præbe-
 bantur. Ea nobis ingens pal-

mæ contentio. Ducere verò
 classẽ multo pulcherrimum.
 Nec de hoc semel decretum e-
 rat: tricesimus dies reddebat
 victo certaminis potestatem. Ita
 nec superior successu curam de-
 mittebat; & dolor victum ad
 depellendam ignominiam con-
 citabat. Id nobis acriores ad
 studia dicendi faces subdidisse,
 quàm exhortationes docentium,
 pædagogorum custodiam, vota
 parentum, quantum animi mei
 conjectura colligere possum,
 contenderim. *Ibid.*

“ month's

“ month’s end, he who was vanquished was allowed to revive the dispute, which thereby became warmer and more obstinate; for the one omitted nothing to keep the advantage he had gained, and the other found so much strength in his disgrace, as enabled him to recover from it. I am very sure, this method gave us more courage, and inspired us with a greater love for study, than the exhortations of our masters, the vigilance of our inspectors, or the earnest wishes of our parents.

If I might be allowed to intermix my reflections and practice with those of so great a master as Quintilian, I would add another custom (of great service to me) to that of distributing places regularly once a month, which ought never to be neglected, not even in the higher classes. This was, to propose some prizes, but without fixing on any particular day, for one or two of the scholars who had succeeded best in a common exercise. Sometimes they were obliged to conquer twice to gain the prize. To raise some emulation likewise in those of but indifferent capacities, I separated them from such as had the best, for whom I also set apart some rewards. By this method I made the whole class industrious. All the exercises were as much laboured as those which were to be made for places; and the scholars were like soldiers who are every instant expecting the signal of battle, and therefore are always prepared.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE the SECOND.

An essay on the method of fitting youth for exercises, by word of mouth, or by writing.

THE easiest method of teaching youth the art of composing, is to exercise them, first, by word of mouth, in making themes upon subjects treated of by good Latin or French authors. As the master must be supposed to have carefully perused the place he has chosen; to have studied the order, disposition, proofs, thoughts, turns and expressions, he may very easily, (provided he gives them but a few hints) enable them to find readily a part of what they are to say; and even, in some measure, the manner of turning every thought. After they have taken some pains about each part, then the master should read the passage in the author, and endeavour to display all the art and beauties of it. When they are thus exercised for some time, he then must give them some subjects to be composed in writing, which, if possible, should be extracted from the best authors; and make them study these more leisurely at home.

I will propose some examples in both kinds; but shall here employ only one passage extracted from Latin authors, because several other passages will be given in the sequel. The relation of Caninius's adventure, cited in number VI. of the first article, where the plain or simple kind is handled; and the combat of the Horatii and Curatii, given in Article II. of §. II. which relates to the thoughts, may serve as examples for narrations.

I. Elogium of Cæsar's clemency.

Marcellus declared himself an enemy to Cæsar upon all occasions, and that in a very injurious and open manner. However, when Cæsar returned to Rome, he was very willing to pardon Marcellus, at the senate's request, and to receive him into favour.

Suppose this action were to be extolled. It will be natural enough for that end, to draw a comparison between that and Cæsar's victories, and to give the former the preference. This shall then be as the proposition, to which all this common place will refer.

Cæsar's clemency in pardoning Marcellus, is much more glorious than all his victories.

But this proposition must be handled with great art and delicacy. The pupils should be asked, if there be no reason to fear that this comparison, which seemingly tends to lessen the splendor of Cæsar's victories, will be highly injurious to a conqueror, who is commonly jealous of this kind of glory. To prevent so ill an effect, the scholars must be told, they should begin by making a great encomium on his military actions, which Cicero has done to admiration. This rule in rhetoric shall be explained hereafter under the title of *Oratorical precautions*.

“Nullius ^u tantum est flumen ingenii, nulla dicendi aut scribendi tanta vis tantaque copia, quæ,
non

^u Pro Marcel. n. 4. 10. riches; never will the greatest

^w Never, Cæsar, will eloquence with all its pomp and your exploits; much less will this
be

non dicam exornare, sed enarrare, C. Cæsar, res tuas gestas possit : tamen hoc affirmo, Et hoc pace dicam tua, nullam in his esse laudem ampliorem, quàm eam, quam hodierno die consecutus es. Soleo sæpe ante oculos ponere, idque libenter crebris usurpare sermonibus, omnes nostrorum Imperatorum, omnes exterarum gentium potentissimorumque populorum, omnes clarissimorum Regum res gestas, cum tuis nec contentionum magnitudine, nec numero præliorum, nec varietate regionum, nec celeritate conficiendi, nec dissimilitudine bellorum posse conferri : nec verò disjunctissimas terras citius cujusquam passibus potuisse peragrari, quàm tuis, non dicam cursibus, sed victoriis illustratæ sunt. (aliàs, lustratæ sunt.) Quæ quidem ego nisi ita magna esse fatear, ut ea vix cujusquam mens aut cogitatio capere possit, amens sim : sed tamen sunt alia majora.

After taking this precaution, we then compare the military actions of Cæsar with his clemency, in restoring Marcellus to favour ; and this kind of clemency is preferred to the former for three reasons, which may easily occur to young people, at least the two first.

be able to add any lustre, by the manner of relating them. I dare however affirm, and you will permit me to say it in your presence, that among so many illustrious actions, none is more glorious to you, than that whereof we are now witnesses ; I often reflect upon it, and find a real pleasure in publishing, that the noble actions of our most celebrated generals ; those of the most renowned Princes, or of the most warlike nations, cannot be compared with yours ; whether we examine the greatness of the wars, the multitude of battles, the different countries, the rapidity of the conquests, or the diversity of the enterprizes. By your victories, you have subdued a great number of countries, vastly distant from one another ; and these you conquered as expeditiously as a man would travel through them. And I must be senseless, not to own that such exploits are almost superior to any thing we can form to ourselves. There is, however, something still greater and more astonishing.

I. REASON. A general cannot ascribe all the glory of a victory to himself only; whereas the whole merit of Cæsar's clemency is personal and entirely his own. This is the simple proposition; and it is the business of eloquence, to enlarge upon, to display, and shew it in the strongest light. We direct young people by proper questions, to find of themselves several circumstances, which shew a general has no more than a share of the glory arising from victories; and they will add, 'tis not so with regard to that which Cæsar acquired by pardoning Marcellus.

** Nam bellicas laudes solent quidam extenuare verbis, easque detrahere ducibus, communicare cum militibus, ne propriæ sint imperatorum. Et certè in armis militum virtus, locorum opportunitas, auxilia sociorum, classes, commeatus, multum juvant. Maximam verò partem quasi suo jure fortuna sibi vindicat, & quidquid est prosperè gestum, id penè omne ducit suum.*

** At verò hujus gloriæ, C. Cæsar, quam es paulo ante adeptus, socium habes neminem. Totum hoc, quantum-*

** For as to military actions, some pretend to lessen their lustre, by asserting, that the private soldier shares the glory with his general, who, for that reason, cannot appropriate the whole to himself. And indeed, the valour of the troops, the advantage of commodious posts and encampments, the assistance of allies, naval forces, and seasonable convoys, contribute very much to conquest. But fortune, above all, thinks she has a right to the greatest share of it; and looks upon herself as almost the sole cause of success.*

** But in this case, you have no companion or competitor that can dispute with you the glory of your clemency. How bright, how august soever it be, (and nothing can be more so) 'tis all your own. Neither the soldier nor the officer, the infantry or cavalry, have any pretensions to it. Fortune herself, that haughty disposer of human events, cannot rob you of*

quantumcumque est, quod certè maximum est, totum est, inquam, tuum. Nihil sibi ex ista laude centurio, nihil præfectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma decerpit. Quin etiam illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina fortuna, in istius se societatem gloriæ non offert. Tibi tedit : tuam esse totam & propriam fatetur. Nunquam enim temeritas cum sapientia commiscetur, nec ad consilium casus admittitur.

II. REASON. 'Tis easier to conquer an enemy than one's passions.

² Domuisti gentes immanitate barbaras, multitudine innumerabiles, locis infinitas, omni copiarum genere abundantes : sed tamen ea vicisti quæ & naturam & conditionem ut vinci possent habebant. Nulla est enim tanta vis, tanta copia, quæ non ferro ac viribus debilitari frangique possit. Verùm animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere ; victoriam temperare, adversarium nobilitate, ingenio, virtute præstantem, non modò extollere jacentem, sed etiam amplificare ejus pristinam dignitatem : hæc qui faciat, non ego

the least part of that honour : she yields it entirely to you, and acknowledges 'tis wholly yours ; since temerity and chance are never found, where wisdom and prudence are at the helm.

² You have subdued a numberless multitude of nations, dispersed in many different countries, formidable by their barbarity and fierceness, and provided with every thing necessary for defence. But then, you conquered only what was adapted by nature and condition to be conquered. For nothing is so por-

erful or formidable, but it may be overcome by superior force. But to overcome one's self, to stifle resentment, to stop victory in her career, to raise up a discomfited enemy, an enemy considerable by his birth, his understanding, and courage ; and not only to raise him from a dejected state, but promote him to greater honours and dignities than he possessed before ; He, I say, who acts in this manner, is not only to be compared with the greatest men, but almost with the gods.

eum cum summis viris comparo, sed simillimum Deo judico.

III. REASON. There is something tumultuous in battles, the bare relation of which creates a kind of uneasiness; whereas acts of beneficence and clemency soothe the mind agreeably, and gain the affections of all who hear them related.

^a *Itaque, C. Cæsar, bellicæ tuæ laudes, celebrantur illæ quidem non solum nostris, sed penè omnium gentium literis atque linguis; neque ulla unquam ætas de tuis laudibus conticescet: sed tamen ejusmodi res, etiam dum audiuntur aut dum leguntur, obstrepi clamore militum videntur & tubarum sono. At verà cum aliquid clementer, mansuetè, justè, moderatè, sapienter factum, in iracundia præsertim quæ est inimica consilio, & in victoria quæ naturâ insolens & superba est, aut audimus aut legimus: quo studio incendimur, non modò in gestis rebus, sed etiam in fictis, ut eos sæpe, quos nunquam vidimus, diligamus?*

^b *Te verò, quem præsentem intuemur, cujus mentem*

^a Your conquests, Cæsar, will indeed be read in our annals, and those of almost all nations; nor will they be forgot by the most distant posterity. But when we read or hear relations of wars and battles, it so happens, I know not how, that the admiration it raises, is in some measure interrupted by the tumultuous cries of soldiers, and the clangor of trumpets. On the contrary, the account of an action where clemency, gentleness, justice, moderation and wisdom, are conspicuous, especially if it be per-

formed in spight, as it were, of anger, ever averse to reflection, and in the midst of victory, which is naturally haughty and insolent; the relation, I say, of an action like this, even in romance, raises such kind, such lively sensations of benevolence and esteem for the authors, that we cannot avoid loving them, though they be strangers to us.

^b But you, Cæsar, whom we have the happiness to see; you whose heart, whose very soul we know; you who have no designs but such as tend to preserve

tem sensusque eos cernimus, ut, quicquid belli fortuna reliquum reipublicæ fecerit, id esse saluum velis, quibus laudibus efferemus? quibus studiis prosequemur? qua benevolentia complectemur? Parietes medius fidius, C. Cæsar, ut mihi videtur, hujus curiæ tibi gratias agere gestiunt, quòd brevi tempore futura sit illa auctoritas in his majorum suorum & suis sedibus.

A subject in writing, for a French theme.

The theme is to display the religion and piety of marshal Turenne, even in the midst of battles and victories.

The orator must begin with a common place, to represent how difficult it is for a general, at the head of a great army, not to be elated with pride, and not consider himself infinitely superior to the rest of men. Even the external parts of war, the noise of arms, the cries of soldiers, &c. conspire to make him forget what he himself and what God is. It was on such occasions as these, that Salmoneus, Antiochus, and Pharaoh, had the impious boldness to think themselves Gods; but it must be confessed, that religion and humility never appear with more splendor, than when they render a man submissive and obedient to God on occasions of this kind.

It was on such occasions that M. Turenne gave the greatest proofs of his piety: he was often seen

preserve to the commonwealth, here are sensible of this act of generosity; even these walls seem to express their joy for the designs you have of restoring them to their antient splendor, and the senate to its former authority.

to withdraw into woods, and in the midst of the rain and dirt, prostrate himself before God. He ordered mass to be daily said in the camp, and was present at it with singular devotion.

Even in the heat of battle, when success appeared infallible, and news was brought him of it from all quarters ; he used to suppress the joy of the officers, by saying ; “ If God does not support us, and finish his work, we may still be defeated.

When this theme is read a second time to scholars, they must be told which parts ought to be enlarged upon ; and some hints must be given for assisting them to find thoughts.

The precedent topic is thus handled by M. Mascaron, in the funeral oration of M. Turenne.

“ Do not imagine, gentlemen, that our hero
 “ lost those religious sensations, at the head of
 “ armies, and in the midst of victories. Certainly, if there’s any occasion on which the
 “ soul, full of its own grandeur and perfection,
 “ is in danger of forgetting God, it is in those
 “ illustrious stations where a man becomes as a
 “ God to others, by the prudence of his conduct,
 “ the mightiness of his courage, the strength of
 “ his arm, and the number of his soldiers ; and
 “ being wholly inspired with glory, inspires all
 “ the rest of the world with love, admiration or
 “ terror. Even the externals of war, the sound
 “ of trumpets, the glitter of arms, the order of
 “ the troops, the silence of the soldiers, their
 “ ardor in fight ; the beginning, progress and
 “ end of the victory ; the different cries of the
 “ conquered and the conquerors ; all these assault
 “ the soul on so many sides, that being deprived
 “ of

“ of all its wisdom and moderation, it knows
“ neither God, nor itself. It is then the impious
“ Salmoneus dared to imitate the thunder of God ;
“ and answered the thunderbolts of heaven with
“ those of the earth. It was then the sacrilegi-
“ ous Antiochus worshipped nothing but his own
“ strength and courage ; and that the insolent Pha-
“ raoh, swelled with the idea of his power, cried
“ out, I am my own maker. But do religion
“ and humility ever appear more majestic, than
“ when they keep the heart of man, though in so
“ exalted a point of glory, in that submission and
“ dependence which the creature ought to observe
“ with regard to God ?

“ M. Turenne was never more sensible that
“ there was a God over his head, than on those
“ extraordinary occasions, when others generally
“ forget their Creator. It was then his prayers were
“ most fervent. We have seen him retiring into
“ woods, where in the midst of rain, and his
“ knees in dirt, he adored that God in this
“ humble posture, before whom legions of angels
“ tremble, and prostrate themselves. The Israe-
“ lites, to secure themselves of victory, ordered
“ the ark of the covenant to be brought into their
“ camp ; and M. Turenne did not believe his
“ could be safe, if not fortified daily by the obla-
“ tion of the divine victim, who triumphed over
“ all the powers of hell. He assisted at it with
“ such devotion and modesty, as inspired awe
“ in those obdurate souls, on whom the sight of
“ the tremendous mysteries made no impres-
“ sion.

“ Even in the progress of victory itself, and
“ in those flattering moments, when a general
“ sees fortune declare in his favour ; his piety
“ was watchful, to prevent his giving the jealous
“ God

“ God the least offence, by too hasty an assurance of conquering. Though the cries of victory echoed round him ; though the officers flattered themselves and him also with assurance of success ; he yet checked all the extreme emotions of joy, in which human pride has so great a share by these words, highly worthy of his piety ; *If God does not support us, and accomplish his work, we may still be defeated.*

The same topic taken from M. Flechier.

The orator must begin with saying, M. Turenne has shewn by his example, that piety is attended with success ; and that a warrior is invincible, when his faith is strong. He referred the glory of his victories to God alone, and placed his confidence in him only.

The orator must then give an instance of some military action. That great man attacked all the forces of Germany with a few troops. The battle was obstinate and doubtful. At length the enemy began to retire. The French cry out, victory is sure. But M. Turenne says to them, *Hold, our fate is not in our own power, and we ourselves shall be vanquished, if the Lord does not assist us ;* and so turning his eyes to heaven, he waits for the victory from God alone.

Here the orator shall add a little common place, to shew how hard it is to be victorious, and humble at the same time. Two thoughts, which must be variously turned, and represented in different lights, will form this common place. It is usual for a conqueror to ascribe the victory to himself, and to look upon himself as the author of it ; and though he returns God public thanks

thanks for it, it is however to be feared, he secretly reserves to himself some share of the glory which is due to God only.

M. Turenne did not act in that manner. When he marches, when he defends a place, when he is intrenched, when he fights, when he triumphs, he expects all from, and refers every thing to God. Each part must have a peculiar thought.

“ M. Turenne has shewn, that courage is invigorated, when supported by religious principles ; that there is a pious magnanimity which gives success in spite of dangers and obstacles ; and that a warrior, whose soul is inspired with faith, and makes a pure offering to the God of battles who directs them, is invincible.

“ As M. Turenne owes all his glory to God, so he refers it all to him, and has no other confidence, but that which is founded in the name of the Lord. Why cannot I here relate one of those considerable actions, in which he attacked all the forces of Germany with a few troops ! he marches three days, passes three rivers, comes up with the enemy, fights them. Numbers on one side, and valour on the other, keep fortune long in suspense. At last courage stops the multitude ; the enemy are confused and begin to retire. A voice is heard, crying, Victory. Then the general suspends all the emotions which the heat of battle raises, and says with a severe tone ; *Hold, our fate is not in our own hands, and we ourselves shall be defeated, if the Lord does not assist us.* At these words, he turns his eyes towards heaven, whence he receives assistance ; and continuing to give orders, he waits submissively, between hope and fear, for the definitive orders of Heaven.

§ *Battle of Eintrzen.*

“ How

“ How difficult is it, gentlemen, to be victo-
 “ rious and humble at the same time ! The suc-
 “ cesses of war leave, I know not what sen-
 “ sible pleasure in the soul, which fills and pos-
 “ sesses it entirely. We ascribe to ourselves a
 “ superiority of power and strength : we crown
 “ ourselves with our own hands : we form a secret
 “ triumph in ourselves : we look upon those lau-
 “ rels which are gathered with labour and pains,
 “ and are often sprinkled with our blood, as our
 “ property ; and even when we give God so-
 “ lemn thanks, and hang up in churches torn
 “ and bloody colours taken from the enemy ;
 “ what danger is there, that vanity will not ex-
 “ tinguish some part of the acknowledgment ;
 “ that we blend the encomiums we think are
 “ owing to ourselves, with the vows we make
 “ to the Lord ; and reserve some little portion of
 “ the incense we are going to burn upon his
 “ altars !

“ It was on those occasions, that M. Turenne
 “ divesting himself of all his pretensions, ascribed
 “ all the glory to him alone to whom it law-
 “ fully belongs. If he marches, he acknow-
 “ ledges it is God that conducts and guides him.
 “ If he defends a strong hold, he is sensible the
 “ enemy will dispossess him of it, if God is not
 “ on his side. If he is intrenched, he thinks
 “ God makes a rampart, to secure him from all
 “ insults. If he fights, he knows whence he
 “ draws all his strength ; and if he triumphs, he
 “ thinks he sees an invisible hand crowning him
 “ from heaven.”

I'll here subjoin some passages extracted from
 the best authors, which seem very well adapted to
 form the taste of youth, both for reading and
 composing. What generally gives the greatest
 beauty to discourses of the demonstrative kind, are
 descriptions,

descriptions, parallels, and common places. In order to know all their art and delicacy, we have nothing to do, but to divest them of all their ornaments, and express them in a common and ordinary manner; 'tis that I call the reducing things to a plain and simple proposition. I'll endeavour to give examples of it in each kind.

DESCRIPTIONS.

I. *The retired life of M. de Lamoignon in the country, during the vacation.*

A simple proposition. I wish I could represent him to you, when he went to pass the vacation at Basville, after all his labours and fatigues in the court of judicature. You would then see him sometimes employed in husbandry; sometimes meditating on the harangues he was to make at the opening of the court; sometimes reconciling the differences amongst the peasants in one of the alleys of his garden.

“ d Why cannot I represent him to you as he
 “ was, when he went to lay aside the burthen of
 “ his employment, and to enjoy a noble repose,
 “ in his retreat at Basville, after a tedious fatigue;
 “ at a distance from the noise of the town, and
 “ the hurry of business? You would see him applying himself sometimes to the innocent amusements
 “ of husbandry, raising his thoughts to the invisible
 “ things of God, by the visible miracles of nature.
 “ Sometimes meditating upon the eloquent and grave
 “ discourses which taught and inspired justice every
 “ year; in which he gave a description of himself, without design, by forming the idea of a
 “ good man. Sometimes reconciling differences

“ *The funeral oration of M. de Lamoignon, by M. Flechier.*

“ which

“ which animosity, jealousy, or evil counsel pro-
 “ duce among country people ; being better
 “ pleased, and perhaps greater before God, when
 “ he secured the repose of a poor family, at the
 “ bottom of a gloomy walk, and upon a tribunal
 “ of turf, than when he gave his verdict upon the
 “ greatest estates, on the chief seat of justice.

II. *The modesty of M. Turenne. His private life.*

A simple proposition. No person ever spoke more modestly of himself than M. Turenne. He related his most surprising victories, as though he had no share in them. At his return from the most glorious campaigns, he shunned encomiums, and was afraid of appearing in the King's presence, for fear of applause. It was then, in a private state, and among a few friends, that he exercised himself in the virtues of civil life. He conceals himself, and walks without attendance ; but every one observes and admires him.

“ “ Who ever performed such great exploits,
 “ and who more reserved in speaking of them ?
 “ When he gained an advantage, he himself
 “ ascribed it to the enemy's oversight, and not to
 “ his own abilities. When he gave an account
 “ of a battle, he forgot nothing, but its being
 “ gained by his own conduct. If he related any
 “ of those actions which had rendered him so fa-
 “ mous, one would have concluded, he had only
 “ been a bare spectator, and might doubt whether
 “ he himself or fame were mistaken. When he
 “ returned from those glorious campaigns, which
 “ immortalize him, he avoided all acclamations
 “ of the people ; he blushed at his victories ; he
 “ received applauses with the same air that others

* *M. Turenne's funeral oration, by M. Flechier.*

“ make apologies, and was almost afraid of
 “ waiting upon the King, being obliged, through
 “ respect, to hear patiently the encomiums which
 “ his Majesty never failed to honour him with.

“ It was then, in the calm repose of a private
 “ state, that this Prince, divesting himself of all
 “ the glory he had acquired in the field, and shutting
 “ himself up with a small company of chosen
 “ friends, he silently practised the virtues of civil
 “ life: sincere in his words, plain in his actions,
 “ faithful in friendship, exact in his duty, regular
 “ in his wishes, and great, even in the minutest
 “ things. He concealed himself; but his fame
 “ discovers him. He walks without attendance;
 “ but every one images him riding in a triumphal
 “ chariot. When people see him, they compute
 “ the number of the enemies he has overcome, and
 “ not the attendants that follow him. Though he
 “ be alone, they figure him surrounded with his
 “ attendant virtues and victories. There is something
 “ inexpressibly great and noble in this virtuous
 “ simplicity; and the less haughty he is,
 “ the more venerable he appears.”

III. *The honourable reception M. de Turenne met with from the King, upon his return from the campaign. His modesty.*

A simple proposition. Renowned captains under the Roman Emperors were obliged, upon their return from the field, to avoid meeting their friends; and to come into the city by night, to prevent giving any jealousy to the Prince, who used to receive them with great coldness; after which they stood undistinguished among the populace. M. Turenne had the good fortune to live under a King, who indulged him the highest applause; and who, had he been desirous of riches, would have

have lavished them upon him. He returned from the field as a private person comes from taking a walk. The looks, the praises, the acclamations of all the people made no impression on him.

“ Suffer me to put you in mind of those fatal ages of the Roman empire, when private men were not permitted to be virtuous or renowned ; because the Princes were so wicked, that they punished both virtue and glory. After their generals had conquered provinces and kingdoms, they were obliged upon their return to avoid meeting their friends ; to come into the city by night, to prevent their drawing too much the eyes of the people upon them ; so far were they from aspiring to the honour of a triumph. A cold embrace, without the least conference or discourse, was all the reception a Prince gave to a man who had saved the empire. After returning from the Emperor’s cabinet, through which he only passed, he was forced to mix among the croud of other slaves. *And being received with a short embrace, without a word being spoke to him, he mixed with the other slaves.*”

“ M. Turenne had the happiness to live under, and serve a monarch, whose virtue cannot be eclipsed by that of his subjects. No grandeur or glory can interrupt that of the sun which enlightens us ; and the most important actions atchieved by subjects, never give any uneasiness to a Prince when his own magnanimity convinces him that they deserve them. And indeed the marks of esteem and confidence which the King shewed M. Turenne, were equivalent to the glory of a triumph. The rewards would likewise have

M. Turenne’s funeral oration, by M. Mascaron.

Tacit.

“ been as great as those distinctions, had the King
 “ found him inclinable to receive favours. But
 “ that which was the effect of just policy in the un-
 “ happy times, when virtue had nothing to fear
 “ so much as its lustre and splendor, was in him
 “ the result of natural and artless modesty.

“ He returned from his triumphant campaigns,
 “ with the same indifference and tranquillity, as
 “ if he had come from taking a walk ; not
 “ so much affected with his own glory as the
 “ rest of the world were, although the people
 “ pressed to see him. Those who had the ho-
 “ nour of his acquaintance, pointed him out in
 “ assemblies, with their eyes, their gestures, and
 “ voices, to such as did not know him. Though
 “ his presence only, without any attendance or
 “ equipage, made that almost divine impresson
 “ on the minds of people which so strongly en-
 “ gages respect, and is the sweetest and most
 “ innocent fruit of heroic virtue ; yet all these
 “ circumstances, so adapted to make a man either
 “ pride himself with a secret vanity, or induce
 “ him to publish his secret acts, wrought no
 “ change in the tranquillity of his soul ; and for
 “ what he cared, his victories and triumphs might
 “ have been buried in oblivion.

IV. *The Queen of England's escape by sea.*

A simple Proposition. The Queen was obliged
 to leave her kingdom. She sailed out of the En-
 glish ports in sight of the rebel fleet, which pur-
 sued her close. This voyage was far different
 from that she had made on the same sea, when she
 went to take possession of the scepter of Great
 Britain. At that time every thing was propitious ;
 now all are contrary.

h “ The Queen was obliged to leave her king-
 “ dom. And indeed she sailed out of the English
 “ ports in sight of the rebellious navy, which
 “ chased her so close, that she almost heard their
 “ cries and insolent threats. Alas ! how different
 “ was this voyage from that she made on the
 “ same sea, when, coming to take possession of
 “ the scepter of Great Britain, she saw the bil-
 “ lows smooth themselves, as it were, under her,
 “ and pay homage to the Queen of the seas !
 “ Now chased, pursued by her implacable enemies,
 “ who had been so audacious as to draw up an accu-
 “ sation against her ; sometimes just escaped, some-
 “ times just taken ; her fortune shifting every
 “ quarter of an hour, having no other assistance
 “ but God and her own immoveable courage ;
 “ neither winds, nor sails enough to favour her
 “ precipitate flight.

P A R A L L E L S.

So I call those places where the orator draws together and compares contrary or different objects. These paintings give very great pleasure to the mind, by the variety of images they represent to it, and very much embellish a discourse. We have already taken notice of some of them in the precedent descriptions, and will now give some more examples.

I. PARALLEL *between M. Turenne and the Cardinal de Bouillon.*

A simple Proposition. While M. Turenne was employed in taking strong holds, and vanquishing the enemy ; the Cardinal de Bouillon was converting heretics, and repairing churches.

h *The Queen of England's funeral oration by M. Bossuet.*

“ How

1 “ How great was his joy, after the taking
 “ of fortresses, to see his illustrious nephew more
 “ glorious by his virtues than by his awful robes ;
 “ opening and re-consecrating churches, under
 “ the direction of a Monarch equally pious and
 “ powerful. The one advanced military glory,
 “ the other extended the sacred flame of reli-
 “ gion : the one beat down ramparts, the other
 “ repaired altars : the one ravaged the lands of
 “ the Philistines, the other carried the ark around
 “ the tents of Israel ; and then uniting their
 “ wishes, as their hearts were before, the nephew
 “ shared in the services the uncle performed for the
 “ state ; and the uncle partook of those performed
 “ by the nephew for the church,

II. PARALLEL *between sudden and languishing diseases.*

k “ 'Tis true, he did not undergo those cruel
 “ pains which pierce the body, tear the soul,
 “ and in a moment extinguish the constancy of
 “ a sick person. But if God's mercy softened
 “ the severity of his repentance, his justice in-
 “ creased its duration ; and as much strength of
 “ mind was required to support that long trial,
 “ as if it had been shorter and more severe.

“ Indeed, nature collects her whole strength,
 “ when attacked by sudden and violent diseases ;
 “ the heart fortifies itself with its whole fund of
 “ constancy. Excess of pain, on these occa-
 “ sions, makes us more insensible ; and if we
 “ suffer much, we have still the comfort of
 “ thinking we shall not suffer long. But lan-
 “ guishing diseases are so much the more severe,

¹ M. Turenne's funeral oration
 by M. Flechier.

* M. Montausier's funeral ora-
 tion by M. Flechier.

“ as we cannot foresee when they will end. We
 “ must bear both with the sickness and the me-
 “ dicines, which are no less grievous. Nature
 “ is every day more and more oppressed ; its
 “ strength decays every instant ; and patience less-
 “ ens, as the sick person grows weaker.

III. PARALLEL. *The Queen serving the poor in
 the hospital, and sharing in the King's glory and
 triumphs.*

1 “ Faithful companions of her piety, who now
 “ bewail her death, you followed her, when she
 “ walked in this christian pomp, between two lines
 “ of poor, sick or dying persons ; greater far in
 “ thus voluntarily divesting herself of her grandeur,
 “ and more glorious, in imitating the humility
 “ and patience of Christ Jesus, than when she
 “ shared in the glory and triumphs of the King
 “ her consort, in a splendid and triumphant car
 “ between two ranks of victorious soldiers.

IV. PARALLEL *between a wicked and an ignorant
 judge.*

“ “ He would have thought it the most essen-
 “ tial defect in his employment, had he not made
 “ his intentions as clear and obvious, as he be-
 “ lieved them upright and just ; and indeed, it
 “ was a usual saying with him, that there was
 “ little difference between a corrupt and an ig-
 “ norant judge : the one has, at least, the pre-
 “ cepts of his duty, and the image of his in-
 “ justice before his eyes ; but the other sees not
 “ the good or evil he does : the one sins wittingly ;

¹ *The Queen's funeral oration
 by M. Flechier.*

² *M. Lamignon's funeral ora-
 tion by M. Flechier.*

“ and

“ and is therefore the more inexcusable ; but the
 “ other sins without remorse, and is the more
 “ incorrigible ; but they are equally criminal with
 “ regard to those they condemn, either through
 “ mistake, or through malice. Whether a per-
 “ son is hurt by a mad or a blind man, the pain
 “ is still the same. And with regard to those
 “ who are undone, it avails little whether it be
 “ by a man who deceives them, or one who is
 “ himself deceived.

COMMON PLACES.

Having already cited several, I'll give but one here, in which the importance and difficulty of the employment of the *“ Lieutenant de Police* in Paris are represented.

“ ° The inhabitants of a well-governed city en-
 “ joy the benefit of the order and regulations
 “ thereof, without considering the trouble and
 “ pains of those who establish, or preserve it ;
 “ much after the same manner as all mankind en-
 “ joy the benefit of the celestial motions, without
 “ any knowledge of them ; and even, the more
 “ the uniformity of political order resembles that
 “ of the celestial bodies, the less 'tis observable ;
 “ and consequently is always less known, the more
 “ perfect it is. But he who should know its founda-
 “ tion, would be astonished. To repair per-
 “ petually the immense consumption of the neces-
 “ saries of life in such a city as Paris, some of
 “ whose sources may be dried up by a mul-
 “ titude of accidents ; to restrain the tyranny
 “ of merchants and trades-people, with regard to
 “ the publick, and at the same time to encourage
 “ their traffick ; to prevent the encroachments of

“ *A kind of Lord-mayor.*

“ *M. de Fontenelle.*

“ the people upon one another, which often are
 “ difficult to unravel ; to discover in a boundless
 “ croud all those who can so easily conceal their
 “ pernicious tricks in it ; to purge the commu-
 “ nity of, or not tolerate them farther than as
 “ they may be useful to it, by employments
 “ which none but themselves would undertake,
 “ or could so well manage ; to keep such abuses,
 “ as must happen, within the exact limits of the
 “ necessity which they are always ready to break
 “ through ; to confine them to the obscurity to
 “ which they ought to be sentenced ; and not to
 “ take them from it, by too notorious and re-
 “ markable punishments ; to be ignorant of such
 “ things as had better be unknown than punish-
 “ ed ; and to punish but seldom. and to a good
 “ purpose ; to penetrate by subterraneous passages
 “ into the private and reserved conduct of fami-
 “ lies ; and to keep those secrets with which they
 “ were not trusted, so long as there may be no
 “ occasion to make use of them ; to be every
 “ where without being seen ; in a word, to move
 “ or stop at pleasure an infinite and tumultuous
 “ multitude ; and to be ever the active and al-
 “ most unknown soul of this great body ; these
 “ are, in general, the functions of the civil ma-
 “ gistrates in the city of Paris. One would ima-
 “ gine, that a single person was not sufficient for
 “ all, because of the number of things he is to
 “ take cognizance of ; of the views and de-
 “ signs he must pursue ; the application that must
 “ be used ; or the variety of conduct or cha-
 “ racters he must assume. But the public voice
 “ will declare, whether M. D’Argenson is equal
 “ to these several functions.”

’Tis obvious, that such models, so beautiful and
 perfect in their kind, being proposed to youth, ei-
 ther for reading, or for subjects of composition,
 are

are very well adapted to raise their genius, and enlarge the inventive faculty, especially when explained and illustrated by an able master ; which was one reason that induced me to make choice of these examples in the demonstrative kind, being most susceptible of embellishments.

After they have read a pretty considerable number of these passages selected from good authors, it will be proper to make them observe the difference in style and character ; and even the faults, if any occur, both in style and diction.

I have hitherto cited but four authors ; not but there are several others, out of which I might extract the like examples ; but it was proper to limit myself to a certain number, and those above cited fell in my way : they are all extraordinary ; but then they are all different, there being no resemblance between any of them, each forming a peculiar character that distinguishes them ; and perhaps they may not be without some faults.

What is most distinguishable in M. Flechier, is, a purity of diction, elegance of style, rich and florid expressions, beautiful thoughts, a prudent vivacity of imagination, and the consequence of it, that is, a wonderful art in painting objects, and making them, as it were, sensible and obvious.

But then, I think a kind of monotony and uniformity run through all his writings ; he has every where almost the same turns, the same figures, the same method : The antithesis engrosses very near all his thoughts, and often enervates, by an endeavour to embellish them. When that figure is sparingly used, and properly applied, it has a beautiful effect. Thus it happily concludes the magnificent elogium of Lewis XIV. spoke by M. Flechier, *By authority, always a King ; by ten-*

derness, always a father. When it turns on a play of words, it is not so valuable ; † Happy be, who did not go in pursuit of riches ! More happy be, who refused them, when they went to him ! This figure may even become tedious, though it be ever so just, if it be too often repeated. ‡ Who does not know, she was admired in an age when others are not known ? How great was her wisdom, at a time when others have scarcely the use of reason ! And how able was she to give advice, at a time when others are scarce capable of receiving it !

M. Bossuet writes in a quite different manner. He did not amuse himself with the superficial ornaments of oratory ; and even sometimes neglected the too slavish rules of the purity of diction, and aims at the grand, the sublime, and pathetic. It is true indeed, he is less uniform and equal, which is the characteristic of the sublime style : but on the other hand, he raises, ravishes, and transports. The strongest and most lively figures are common, and, as it were, natural to him.

“ O admirable mother, wife, and Queen !
 “ and worthy of better fortune, were the fortune
 “ of this world of any moment ! But——you
 “ must submit to your fate.

“ She saw with astonishment, when her hour
 “ was come, that God was going to take the
 “ King her son, as it were by the hand, to con-
 “ duct him to his throne. She submitted more
 “ than ever to that sovereign hand, which from
 “ the highest heavens holds the reins of all em-
 “ pires ; and despising the thrones that may be
 “ usurped, she fixed all her affection on that

† M. de Lamoignon's funeral oration.

‡ The Queen of England's funeral oration.

§ Mad^e de Montausier's funeral oration.

“ kingdom, where there is no fear of rivals ”,
 “ and where competitors view one another with-
 “ out jealousy.”

He draws the portrait of Cromwel, as follows.

“ A man arose of an incredible depth of under-
 “ standing, a refined hypocrite as well as able
 “ politician, capable to undertake and conceal
 “ all things ; equally active and indefatigable in
 “ peace and war, who never left any thing to
 “ fortune which he could force from her by coun-
 “ sel or forecast ; but in all things else so vigi-
 “ lant and ready, that he never lost any oppor-
 “ tunity she put in his way. In a word, one of
 “ those restless and audacious spirits, that seem
 “ born to turn the world upside down.

In another place, he describes the manner in which the princess Henrietta Anne of England was almost miraculously delivered out of the hands of the rebels.

“ “ In spite of the storms of the ocean, and
 “ the more violent commotions of the earth, God
 “ taking her on his wings, as the eagle does her
 “ young ones, carries her into that kingdom ;
 “ places her in the bosom of the Queen her mother,
 “ or rather, in the bosom of the Catholic Church.

“ “ What shall I say more ? Hear all in one
 “ word ; Daughter, Wife, Mother, Mistress,
 “ Queen ; such as our wishes would have formed
 “ her, but what is more than all, a Christian
 “ Queen ; she performed every duty without pre-
 “ sumption ; and was not only humble amidst all
 “ her greatness, but amidst the whole circle of
 “ virtues.

“ Plus amant illud regnum,
 in quo non timent habere con-
 sortes. S. Austin.

“ The duchess of Orleans’s fu-
 neral oration.

“ Funeral oration of Maria
 Teresa of Austria.

“ Sword

“ Sword of the Lord, what a blow haft thou
 “ now ftruck! the whole earth is aftonifhed
 “ at it.

He fometimes employs antitheses, but they are
 fublime in his orations. * “ Notwithstanding the
 “ ill fuccefs of his arms, (meaning King Charles I.)
 “ and though his enemies were able to conquer
 “ him, yet they were not able to force him to
 “ bafe fubmiffions; and as he never refufed any
 “ thing that was reasonable while a conqueror, fo
 “ he always rejected whatever was weak and un-
 “ juft, while a prifoner.

M. Mafcaron has fomething of the character
 of the two authors above mentioned, but does
 not refemble them in every refpect. He is at the
 fame time very elegant and great; but, in my
 opinion, lefs florid than the one, and lefs fublime
 than the other. Art does not appear with fo much
 oftentation in him as in the former, which is a
 great art; and perhaps his genius was not fo
 fruitful and daring as that of the latter.

† “ Heathen Rome would have raifed ftatues to
 “ him under the Cæfars; and Chriftian Rome
 “ finds him worthy of admiration under the Pon-
 “ tiffs of the religion of Chrift Jefus.

“ M. Turenne, when conqueror of the enemies
 “ of the ftate, never created fo univerfal and fen-
 “ fible a joy to France, as M. Turenne conquered
 “ by truth, and fubjected to the yoke of the
 “ faith.

“ Angels of the higheft order in the hierarchy;
 “ fpirits appointed by Providence to guard this
 “ great foul, tell us, how great was the joy of
 “ the church of Heaven at the converfion of this
 “ Prince; and with what rejoycings the firft per-

* *The Queen of England's fu-
 neral oration.*

† *M. Turenne's funeral ora-
 tion.*

“ fumes of the prayers of this new catholic were
 “ received ; when you wafted them to the foot of
 “ the altar of the Lamb reigning in glory, from
 “ the foot of the altar of the Lamb sacrificed.

“ No man was ever better qualified to exhibit
 “ great and noble objects to the world ; but no
 “ man ever solicited lefs the applaufes of the spec-
 “ tators.

“ But though there was nothing harfh in his
 “ behaviour on thefe occasions ; yet fuch was his
 “ modefty, that his countenance difcovered he
 “ thought himfelf unworthy of praife.

“ In his difcourfe, he was as free from the
 “ pomp of modefty, as from that of pride.

“ What cannot a great mafter effect, when he
 “ is to form a fublime genius ? No fooner had M.
 “ Turenne given his firft counfels, but he found
 “ there was no occafion for more ; being pre-
 “ vented by the clear underftanding, penetration,
 “ the happy and fage impetuofity of this great
 “ Monarch’s² courage. In like manner as we
 “ fee a thunder-bolt (formed almoft in an instant
 “ within a cloud) lighten, break out, ftrike
 “ and bear down every thing ; fo the firft fires
 “ of military ardor are fcarce lighted in the King’s
 “ heart, but they fparkle, break out and ftrike
 “ with terror univerfally.

The author of the *Common Place* upon the func-
 tions of the Lieutenant de Police, has a character
 very different from the three others. The little
 fpecimen I gave of it is exquisite, and muft ap-
 pear the more beautiful, becaufe its beauties are
 lefs affected, though the fubject was very fufcep-
 tible of thofe bright and florid turns ; but he chofe
 rather to exprefs his thoughts in a juft and folid
 manner,

² Lewis XIV.

The academic elogiums composed by the same author, being of that kind of eloquence which the Latins call *light and subtil*; its style is, as it should be, more simple; but it is a simplicity, accompanied with a great deal of wit, as will appear from some select passages I shall now cite: These will shew, that every thing he says is his own, to use the same terms this author does in speaking of one of his brother academicians; to which I would willingly subjoin, “and his manner of expressing it.”

We there find some images copied from nature; and very natural, but at the same time very lively descriptions.

“M. Dodart, says he, in the elogium of that illustrious member of the royal academy, was naturally grave and serious; and the Christian attention with which he always watched over himself, was not of a cast to make him quit it. But this seriousness, so far from being gloomy or austere, discovered pretty plainly a fund of that prudent and lasting joy, which is the fruit of the most pure reason, and an undisturbed conscience. This disposition is not productive of starts of gaiety, but of an even sweetness of temper which yet may become gaiety, for some moments, and by a kind of surprize; from the whole an air of dignity results, which belongs to virtue only, and is not even inspired by dignities.

“M. de Vauban despised that superficial politeness which pleases the generality of people, and under which a great deal of barbarity is often concealed; but his goodness, humanity, and liberality formed another kind of politeness more seldom met with; it being entirely in the heart. ‘Twas natural for such an assemblage of virtues to neglect the exterior, which indeed be-
“ long

“ long to them ; but then, vice can too easily assume them.

“ It is allowed, that Cicero has served as a model for dialogue, and for this method of treating philosophy, (he means the philosophy of M. du Hamel) but he is likewise distinguished by the purity and correctness of his Latin ; and, what is still more important, by a great number of ingenious and delicate expressions, with which his works are interwoven. These are philosophical reasonings, which have happily lost their natural, at least their usual jejuneness, by passing through a florid imagination ; and yet without taking any more from it, than a just proportion of beauty. Whatever is to be adorned only to a certain degree, is ever most difficult to embellish.

“ Father Malbranche’s *Enquiry after Truth* is distinguished on account of the great art with which abstracted truths are therein represented in a clear light ; in joining them together, and in strengthening them by their union. The diction is not only pure and correct, but has likewise all the dignity requisite to the subjects, and all the graces they could admit. Not that he took any pains to cultivate the talents of the imagination ; on the contrary, he always undervalued them. But he was born with a great and lively imagination, which laboured for her ungrateful owner, in spite of himself ; and adorned reason by concealing herself from her.”

“ Botany is not an idle sedentary science, that may be attained in the calm repose of a study. It will have us ramble over mountains and forests ; climb steep rocks, and expose ourselves upon the brink of precipices. The only books that can instruct us effectually in this science, have been disposed at random over the whole
“ surface

“ surface of the earth ; and we must resolve to
 “ undergo the fatigue and danger of searching and
 “ collecting them. His predominant inclination
 “ made him surmount all things. Those frightful
 “ and inaccessible rocks, with which he was sur-
 “ rounded on all sides in the Pyrenees, were trans-
 “ formed, with respect to him, into a magnificent
 “ library, where he had the pleasure to find
 “ whatever his curiosity required, and where he
 “ spent many delicious days.”

The author of the elogiums has the art of ap-
 plying *à propos* some passages from history and
 antiquity, which are well adapted to instruct youth
 in the serious and reasonable use that is to be made
 of them in composition.

“ M. Parent was charged with writing ob-
 “ scurely ; for we are frank, and follow, in some
 “ measure, a law made antiently in Egypt, by
 “ which the actions and characters of the dead
 “ were examined before judges, in order to agree
 “ upon the tribute to be paid to their memory.”

“ A certain King of Armenia asked Nero for
 “ an extraordinary player, fit for all parts ; that
 “ he might have, said he, a whole company in
 “ him alone. It may likewise be said, that there
 “ was an entire academy of sciences in M. de la
 “ Hire alone.

In speaking of M. Leibnitz, who had acquired
 almost the whole circle of knowledge : “ We
 “ are, says he, obliged to divide him in this
 “ place ; and, philosophically speaking, to re-
 “ solve him into his constituent parts. Of many
 “ Hercules’s, the antients made but one ; and of
 “ M. Leibnitz alone, we shall make several learn-
 “ ed men.

• M. Tournefort.

“ He

“^b He went into Auvergne, Languedoc, Provence, on the Alps, and the Pyrenees ; and did not return, till he had got together numerous colonies of plants, designed for replanting this desert, that is, the royal garden, which was so unfurnished with plants, that it was no longer a garden.”

If we were allowed to search for imperfections among so many beauties, we might perhaps suspect One to be in a certain turn of thoughts, something too uniform, (though they are very much diversified) which terminates the greatest part of the articles by a short and lively touch in a sententious way, and seems intended to possess the conclusion of the periods, as a post which belongs to it, exclusive of all others.

What raises the understanding should likewise raise the soul.

The same piety that made him worthy of entering the church, kept him at a distance from it.

The same cause that kept him at a distance, made him worthy of it.

The more the eyes have seen, the more reason sees.

What he believed, he saw ; whereas others believe what they see, &c.

I should be afraid, that a model of such authority might, one day or other, make eloquence degenerate into those touches, called *c stimuli quidam & subiti ictus sententiarum*, in Seneca ; which, in the opinion of the same author, seem, by their studied affectation, to beg applause ; and which was unknown to the judicious antients. ^d *Apud antiquos nondum captabatur plausibilis oratio.*

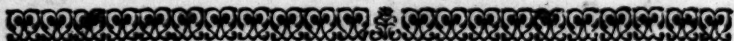
We must, however, not reject them entirely ; for they may give a great deal of grace and even

^b M. Fagon.

^c Epist. 100.

^d Epist. 59.

force to an oration, as we often find in the author in question, and as I shall take notice elsewhere; but there is reason to fear this may be abused, which therefore obliges me to insist frequently and strenuously on this point.



C H A P. III.

Of the reading and explanation of authors.

I Have already observed, in treating of the various duties of a rhetoric professor with regard to eloquence, that this part was one of the most essential; and may, in one sense, be said to comprize all the rest. 'Tis, indeed, in the explanation of authors, that the master applies the precepts, and teaches youth to make use of them in composing.

The rules which relate to the explaining of authors, are, no doubt, proper to a certain point or degree, to all the classes; but they belong to rhetoric more particularly, because the judgment of youth is then more mature, which enables them to improve and make a better use of those rules; for till they come to that period, masters apply themselves more to teach them the rules and principles of grammar, and to make them observe the correctness, purity and elegance of diction. * But the proper duty of a rhetorician, is to shew them the disposition of an oration, and the beauties and even faults which may occur in it.

* *Demonstrare virtutes, vel, qui se magistrum eloquentiæ si quando ita incidat, vitia, id pollicetur, maximè proprium professionis ejus atque promissi, est. Quintil. l. 5. c. 2.*

“ f He shall observe to them, in what manner
“ the exordium gains the favour and good will of
“ the judge ; must point out the perspicuity and
“ brevity, the air of sincerity, and the design
“ which may sometimes be concealed, and the
“ artifice of a narration, for the secret of the
“ art here is little known, except to such as are
“ masters of the art ; afterwards he must shew the
“ order and exactness of the division ; how the
“ orator, by the strength of his judgment hits
“ upon a great number of methods and argu-
“ ments, which he builds one upon the other ;
“ now he is more vehement and sublime ; then
“ soft and insinuating, with what force and vio-
“ lence he animates his invectives ; what wit
“ and beauty appear in his raillery ; in fine, how
“ he raises the passions, wins the hearts of the
“ auditors, and turns them as he thinks fit ; and
“ so passing from thence to elocution, he will
“ make them observe the propriety, the elegance
“ and nobleness of expressions ; on what occasion
“ amplification is commendable, and what its op-
“ posite virtue is : the beauty of metaphors, and
“ the different figures ; what a flowing and har-
“ monious style is, which at the same time is mas-
“ culine and nervous.

f Quæ in procemio conciliandi judicis ratio : quæ narrandi lux, brevitās, fides, quod aliquando consilium & quā occultā calliditas : (namque ea sola in hoc ars est quæ intelligi nisi ab artifice non possit) quanta deinceps in dividendo prudentia : quā subtilis & crebra argumentatio ; quibus viribus inspiret, quā jucunditate permulceat, quanta in maledictis asperitas, in jocis urba-

nitas, ut denique dominetur in affectibus, atque in pectora irrumpat, animumque judicium similem iis quæ dicit efficiat. Tum in ratione eloquendi, quod verbum proprium, ornatum, sublime : ubi amplificatio laudanda, quæ virtus ei contraria : quid speciosè translaturum : quæ figura verborum : quæ lenis & quadrata, virilis tamen compositio. *Quintil. l. 2. c. 5.*

50 *Of the reading and explanation of Authors.*

This passage of Quintilian may be considered as an excellent epitome of the precepts of rhetoric, and of the duties of masters in explaining authors. What I shall say hereafter will serve only to illustrate and set it in a clearer light.

I'll begin with giving an idea of the three kinds or characters of eloquence, and here settle some general rules of rhetoric which appear to me best adapted to form the taste; and this is properly the end I propose in this work. I'll afterwards proceed to the chief observations which, I think, should be made in reading authors, and conclude this treatise with some reflections on the eloquence of the bar, the pulpit, and that of the holy scripture.

But I must first premise, that authors should not be read superficially or in a hurry, if we propose to improve by them. § We should often review the same passages, especially the most beautiful; read them again with attention, compare them with one another, by thoroughly examining their sense and beauties; and make them so familiar to us, as to have them almost by heart. The surest way of improving by this perusal of authors, which is to be considered as the food of the understanding, is to digest it at leisure, and so convert it, as it were, into its own substance.

To obtain that end, ^h we must not value ourselves upon reading a great number of authors, but such only as are most esteemed. We may say

§ Optimus quisque legendus est, sed diligenter, ac penè ad scribendi sollicitudinem Repetamus autem, & tractemus: & ut cibos mansos ac prope liquefactos dimittimus, quo faciliùs digerantur; ita lectio non cruda, sed multa

iteratione mollita, & velut confecta, memoriæ imitationique tradatur. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

^h Tu memineris fui cujusque generis auctores diligenter eligere. Aiunt enim multum legendum esse, non multa. *Plin. Epist. 9. l. 7.*

of too great reading, what ⁱ Seneca observes of a prodigious library, that instead of enriching and informing the understanding, it often only disorders and confounds it. It is much better to fix upon a small number of choice authors, and to study these thoroughly, than to amuse ourselves superficially, and hurry over a multitude of books.

SECTION I.

Of the three different kinds or characters of eloquence.

^k As there are three principal qualifications required in an orator, to instruct, to please, and move the passions; so three kinds of eloquence correspond to them, generally called the plain or simple, the sublime and the mixt.

¹The first is more particularly adapted to narration and proof. Its principal character consists in
E 2 perspicuity;

ⁱ Quo mihi innumerabiles libros & bibliothecas?
Onerat discentem turba, non instruit: multoque satius est paucis te auctoribus tradere, quam errare per multos. *Senec. de Tranq. an. c. 6.*

^k Erit eloquens is qui ita dicit, ut probet, ut delectet, ut flectat. Probare, necessitatis est; delectare, suavitatis; flectere, victoriæ sed quot officia oratoris, tot sunt genera dicendi: subtile, in probando; modicum, in delectando; vehemens, in flectendo. *Orat.* n. 69.

¹ Illo subtili præcipue ratio
narrandi probandique consistet.

Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.

Ut mulieres esse dicuntur
nonnullæ inornatæ, quas idip-
sum deceat, sic hæc subtilis
oratio etiam incompta delectat.
Fit enim quiddam in utroque,
quo sit venustius, sed non ut
appareat. Tum removebitur
omnis insignis ornatus, quasi
margaritarum: nec calamistri
quidem adhibebuntur. Fucati
verò medicamenta candoris &
ruboris omnia repellentur: ele-
gantia modò & munditia re-
manebit. Sermo purus & la-
tinus: dilucidè plenèque dice-
tur. *Orat. n. 78, 79.*

Verecundus erit usus oratoriae quasi suppellectilis. 80.

Figuras

perspicuity, simplicity and exactness. It is not an enemy to ornament, but then it admits of none except such as are plain and simple, rejecting those which are too much affected or have a false varnish. 'Tis not a lively shining beauty enhances its merit, but a soft, a modest one, which is sometimes accompanied by a certain negligent air of indifference. The simplicity of the thoughts, the purity of the diction, with an inexpressible elegance which affects more sensibly than it seems to do, are all its ornaments. We do not there find any of those elaborate figures, which too plainly discover art; and seem to proclaim as though the orator were making all his efforts to please the auditors. In a word, the same observation may be made on this species of writing, which is made on those plain, genteel entertainments, where all the dishes are of an exquisite taste, but nothing allowed that is either forced, too delicate or refined.

^m There is another species of writing quite different from the former; great, rich, grave and

Figuras adhibet quidem hæc subtilis, sed paulo parcius. Nam sic, ut in epularum apparatu à magnificentia recedens, non se parvum solum, sed etiam elegantem videri volet; eligit quibus utatur Aberunt quæsitæ venustates, ne elaborata concinnitas, & quoddam aucupium delectationis manifestè deprehensum appareat. *Ibid.* n. 84.

^m Tertius est ille amplus, copiosus, gravis, ornatus: in quo profecto vis maxima est. Hic est enim, cujus ornatum dicendi & copiam admiratæ gentes eloquentiam in civitati-

bus plurimum valere passa sunt, sed hanc eloquentiam quæ cursu magno sonituque ferretur, quam suspicerent omnes, quam admirarentur, quam se assequi posse diffiderent. Hujus eloquentiæ est tractare animos; hujus omni modo permovere. *Orat.* n. 97.

Nam & grandiloqui, ut ita dicam, fuerunt, cum ampla & sententiarum gravitate, & majestate verborum; vehementes, varii, copiosi, graves, ad permovendos & convertendos animos instructi & parati. *Orat.* n. 20.

noble;

noble ; 'tis called the grand, the sublime ; it employs whatever in eloquence is most elevated, has the greatest force, and is most capable of moving the affections ; such as noble thoughts, rich expressions, bold figures, and lively movements. It is this sort of eloquence that governed all things in old Athens and Rome, and became absolute mistress of the public counsels and designs. It is this that ravishes and forces admiration and applause. It is this that thunders and lightens, and ⁿ like a rapid stream, carries away and overthrows all that makes resistance.

In fine, there is a third ^o species of eloquence which seems to be placed, as it were, between the other two ; having neither the plainness and simplicity of the first, nor the force and energy of the second ; it comes near them, but without resembling them ; and participates, or to speak more properly, is equally distant from both. It has more force and copiousness than the first, but is less sublime than the second : it admits of all the embellishments of art, the beauty of figures, the splendor of metaphors, the lustre of thoughts,

ⁿ At ille qui saxa devolvat,
& pontem indignetur. & ripas
sibi faciat, multus & torrens,
judicem vel nitentem contra
teret, cogetque ire quâ rapit.
Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.

^o Est quidam interjectus intermedius, & quasi temperatus, nec acumine posteriorum, nec fulmine utens superiorum ; vicinus amborum, in neutro excellens ; utriusque particeps, vel utriusque, si verum quærimus, potiùs expers. Isque uno tenore, ut aiunt, in dicendo fluit, nihil afferens præter facilitatem & æqualitatem. *Orat. n. 21.*

Uberius est aliquantòque robustius quàm hoc humile, summissius autem quàm illud amplissimum . . . Hinc omnia dicendi ornamenta conveniunt, plurimumque est in hac orationis forma suavitatis. *Ibid. n. 92.*

Medius hic modus & translationibus crebrior, & figuris erit jucundior ; egressionibus amœnus, compositione aptus, sententiis dulcis : lenior tamen, ut amnis lucidus quidam, & virentibus utrinque sylvis in-umbratus. *Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.*

the grace of digressions, the harmony of numbers and cadence. It nevertheless flows gently, like a fine river, whose water is clear and pure, and is shaded on each side with verdant forests.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

Of the simple kind.

I. Of these three kinds of writing, the *p* first, which is the simple, is not the easiest, though it seems to be so. As its style is very natural, and does not deviate much from common discourse, we imagine no great ability or genius are required to succeed in it; and when we read or hear a discourse in this kind, those who have but the least notion of eloquence think themselves capable of imitating it. They think so indeed, but are mistaken; and to *q* convince them, let them only make a trial of it; for after much pains, they will be obliged to own they could not attain it^r. Those who have any taste of true eloquence, and are the best skilled in it, own there is nothing so difficult as to speak properly and justly, and at the same time in so plain and natural a method, that every man flatters himself he could do as much.

p Summissus est & humilis, consuetudinem imitans, ab indifertis re plus quam opinione differens. Itaque eum qui audiunt, quamvis ipsi infantes sint, tamen illo modo confidunt se posse dicere. Nam orationis subtilitas, imitabilis quidem illa videtur esse existimanti, sed nihil est experiendi minus. *Orat. n. 76.*

q Ut sibi quisvis speret idem, sudet multum, frustra que labo-

ret ausus idem. *Horat.*

r Rem indicare sermonis quotidiani, & in quemcunque etiam indoctorum cadentis esse existimant: cum interim, quod tanquam facile contemnunt, nescias præstare minus velint, an possint. Neque enim aliud in eloquentiâ cuncta experti difficilius reperient, quam id quod se dicturos fuisse omnes putant; postquam audierunt. *Quintil. l. 4. c. 2.*

II, Cicero,

II. Cicero, in his first Book *de Oratore*, observes, † that what excels most in other arts, is furthest from the understanding and capacity of the common people; and, on the contrary, that it is a great fault in eloquence, to vary from the common way of speaking. He does not however pretend to insinuate by this, as tho' the style of the orator must be like that of the populace, or that which is predominant in conversation; but what he requires, is, that the orator should carefully avoid the expressions, the turns and thoughts which might render an oration obscure and unintelligible, by too much delicacy, or too much sublimity. Since he has no other view but to be understood, it is certain the greatest error he can fall into, is to speak unintelligibly. What therefore distinguishes his style, from that of conversation, is not, properly speaking, the difference of words or terms‡, for they are pretty near the same on both sides, and drawn from the same source, both for common speech, and the most pompous oration or discourse; but the orator knows by the use to which he applies, and the order he puts them into, to raise them, as it were, above every thing common, and give them a peculiar grace and elegance, which at the same time is so natural, that every one would think he could speak in the same manner.

† Inceteris artibus id maxime excellit, quod longissime sit ab imperitorum intelligentia sensuque disjunctum: in dicendo autem vitium vel maximum est, à vulgari genere orationis atque à consuetudine communis sensus abhorre-
Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 12.

‡ Non sunt alia sermonis, a-

lia contentionis verba; neque ex alio genere ad usum quotidianum, alio ad scenam pompamque sumuntur: sed ea nos cum jacentia sustulimus è medio, sicut mollissimam ceram ad nostrum arbitrium formamus & fingimus. *Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 177.*

III. Quintilian makes a very judicious remark on the topic before us, in explaining a seeming contradiction between two passages in Cicero. "Tully", says he, has somewhere writ, that "perfection consists in saying such things as we "imagine every one might easily say; where-
 "in, however, more difficulty is found than was
 "expected when attempted. And he says in
 "another place, that he did not study to speak,
 "as every one imagined he might, but as none
 "could dare expect; in which he seems to con-
 "tradict himself. But both these are very just;
 "for there is no difference between them, but the
 "subject treated upon. And indeed, this simpli-
 "city, and negligent air of a natural style, where
 "nothing is affected, is extremely well adapted to
 "small causes or affairs; and the marvellous style is
 "very suitable to grand and important ones.
 "Cicero excels in both; one of which, in the
 "opinion of the ignorant, is easily attained, but nei-
 "ther of them is so, in the judgment of the learn-
 "ed." We see by this, that the plain style is
 to be used, when we speak of simple and common
 things, and that it is particularly adapted to narra-
 tives or relations; and to those branches of a dis-
 course where the orator's only view is to instruct
 his auditors, or to insinuate himself gently into
 their affections.

"Cicero quodam loco scri-
 bit id esse optimum, quod cum
 te facile credideris consequi
 imitatione, non possis. Alio
 verò, non se id egisse, ut ita
 diceret quomodo se quilibet
 posse confideret, sed quomodo
 nemo. Quod potest pugnare
 inter se videri. Verum utrum-
 que, ac meritò, laudatur. Causa

enim modoque distat: quia
 simplicitas illa, & velut secu-
 ritas inaffectedæ orationis, mirè
 tenues causas decet; majoribus
 illud admirabile dicendi genus
 magis convenit. In utroque
 eminent Cicero: ex quibus al-
 terum imperiti se posse conse-
 qui credent, neutrum qui in-
 telligunt. *Quintil. l. 11. c. 1.*

IV. ^w From thence proceeded the care of the antients to conceal art, which indeed ceases to be so when perceived; widely different from the ostentation and parade of those writers whose whole aim is to display their wit ^x. From thence resulted a certain kind of negligence, no way offensive or disagreeable, because it intimates that the orator is more intent upon things than words. ^y In a word, thence resulted that air of modesty and reservedness, which the antients generally took care to discover in the exordium and narration, in their style, expression, thoughts, and even in the tone of their voice and their action. The orator is not yet admitted into the affections. We examine him carefully. Then every thing that favours of art is suspected by the auditors, and creates a diffidence, by making ^rthem apprehensive, that snares or ambuscades are laid for them. They are afterwards less upon their guard, and give more liberty.

^z Cicero observes, that Demosthenes followed this rule in his beautiful oration for Ctesiphon,

^w Inde illa veterum circa occultandam eloquentiam simulatione, multum ab hac temporum nostrorum jactatione diversa. *Quintil. l. 4. c. 1.*

^x Habet iste stilus quiddam quòd indicet non ingratam negligentiam, de re hominis magis quàm de verbis laborantis. *Orat. n. 77.*

^y Frèquentissimè procemium decebit & sententiarum, & compositionis, & vultus modestia... Diligenter ne suspecti simus in illa parte vitandum: propter quod minimè ostentari debet in principiis cura, quia videtur ars omnis dicentis contra judi-

cem adhiberi... Nondum recepti sumus, & custodit nos recens audientium attentio. Magis conciliatis animis; & jam calentibus; hæc libertas fertur. *Quintil. l. 4. c. 1.*

^z Demosthenes in illa pro Ctesiphonte oratione longè optima, summissiùs à principio; deinde, dum de legibus disputat, pressiùs; post sensim incedens, judices ut vidit ardentes, in reliquis exultavit audaciùs. *Orat. n. 26.*

Principia verecunda, non elatis intensa verbis. *Ibid. n. 124.*

where he speaks at first with a soft and modest tone, and does not proceed to the quick and vehement style which is afterwards predominant, till he had insinuated himself by degrees into the affections of the auditors, and made himself master of them : he would have us, for that reason, be a little timorous in the beginning, and ^a he extols this character of modesty and reservedness in Crassus, which far from being injurious to his oration, made the orator himself more amiable and valuable, by the advantageous idea it gave of his person.

Homer and Virgil, whose verse is so noble and sublime, opened their poems in the most plain and simple manner ; far unlike that puffy and inflated line, which Horace justly censures in a cotemporary bard.

The noble war, and Priam's fate I'll sing.

^b It is indeed ridiculous to cry out with so loud a voice, and promise such mighty things in the very first verse. The exordium ought generally to be plain and unaffected. ^c This fire, this sudden splendor, often turn into smog ; whereas a style that is at first more simple and less blustering gives a great deal of pleasure, when it is succeeded by a great light.

This rule, that the exordium must be simple and modest, is not general, either for prose or poetry. There are some harangues whose subjects allow and even require the orator to begin in a noble and grand manner ; and the most sublime exordium

^a Fuit mirificus quidam in Crasso pudor, qui tamen non modo non obesset ejus orationi, sed etiam probitatis commendatione prodesset. 1. *de Orat.* 2. 122.

^b Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu ? *Horat. de Art. Poet.*

^c Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem cogitat. *Ibid.*

suits the ode perfectly, though it might be very shocking in other poems. M. de la Mothe assigns a very good reason for this difference, with regard to poesy in the preface to his odes. "The reason is, says he, that an epic poem is a work of great length, it would be dangerous to begin in such a strain as it would be difficult to support or continue; whereas the ode being comprehended within narrow limits, we can run no risque, though we warm the reader in the beginning, for he will have no time to cool by the length of the piece. In like manner, a man who is to run a long race, should be very sparing of himself at first, lest he should waste his strength too soon; and, on the contrary, he who had but a short space to go, might increase his natural swiftness by his first effort, and so finish his course with the more rapidity."

V. Youth cannot be made too sensible of the character of simplicity which runs through the writings of the antients. We must accustom them to study nature in all things; and often repeat to them, that the best eloquence is that which is the most natural, and least far fetched. That whereof we are now treating consists in a certain simplicity, and an elegance which is extremely pleasing, for no other reason, but its not studying to please. The Grecians gave it a very expressive and significant name ἀφειλία. Ἀφελής, intimates a plain kind of life, frugal, modest and decent; devoid of luxury or pomp; that is, in want of nothing, and at the same time has nothing superfluous; and is pretty near what Ho-

^d Ipsa illa ἀφειλία simplex & amatur, ornatum. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 3.
inaffectata habet quendam purum, qualis etiam in feminis

race calls *simplex munditiis*, an elegant simplicity.

VI. The relation of Canius's adventure is of this kind; it is in the third Book of Tully's *Offices*; and I will now present the reader with the whole.

* *Canius, eques Romanus nec infacetus, & satis literatus, cum se Syracusas, otia, ut ipse dicere solebat, non negotia causa, contulisset; dictitabat se hortulos aliquos velle emere, quod invitare amicos, & ubi se oblectare sine interpellatoribus posset.* How elegant are these words, *nec infacetus, & satis literatus*! The French version of Mr. du Bois, gives the sense very well, but it is not so concise nor lively. There is a beauty in this kind of play of words, *otia, negotia*, and in the diminutives, *dictitabat, hortulos*, which can never be translated into another language.

† *Quod cum percrebuisse, Pythius ei quidam, qui argentariam faceret Syracusiis, dixit venales quidem se hortos non habere, sed licere uti Canio, si vellet, ut suis; & simul ad cenam hominem in hortos invitavit in posterum diem. Cum ille promississet, tum Pythius, qui esset, ut argentarius, apud omnes ordines graciosus, piscatores ad se convocavit, & ab his petivit ut ante suos hortulos postridie piscaren-*

* When C. Canius, a Roman knight, a facetious and sensible man, and of some learning, went to Syracuse, not about business, but to do nothing, as he used to say; gave notice, that he would be glad to purchase a country-house near the city, where he might divert himself sometimes with his friends, without the importunity of visitors.

† The report of this spreading over all the city, a certain banker at Syracuse, called Py-

thius, told him, he had indeed a country-house, but not to sell; that Canius might make use of it as his own, and intreated him to dine with him at it next day. Canius promising he would, the banker, who by reason of his occupation was valued by all sorts of people, sent for some fishermen, and desired them to fish before his house the day following, giving them some other directions proper for his design.

tur,

tur, dixitque quid eos facere vellet. The whole beauty of this relation consists in one word. *Pythius, qui esset, ut argentarius, apud omnes ordines gratus.* It is not so well turned in the French, which does not sufficiently shew that his money gave him great credit among all ranks of people. The words *hominem invitavit*, are much more elegant, than if the word *illum* had been substituted in their place.

^g *Ad cœnam tempore venit Canius. Opirare à Pythio apparatus convivium. Cymbarum ante oculos multitudo. Pro se quisque quod ceperat, afferebat: ante pedes Pythii pisces abjiciebantur.* The concise style, in which the verbs are suppressed, is very graceful. We should make our youth observe, that this is a beauty which can seldom be expressed in our language. There is, in my opinion, in the words, *ante pedes Pythii pisces abjiciebantur*, a fine image of people who were in a hurry to throw down a great quantity of fish, at Pythius's feet. I know not the translator's reason for substituting another thought instead of it, which is not in the Latin.

^h *Tum Canius: quæso, inquit, quid est hoc, Pythi? Tantumne piscium, tantumne cymbarum? Et ille: Quid mirum, inquit? Hoc loco est, Syracusis quidquid est piscium: hic aquatio: hac villa isti carere non possunt.*

^g *Canius came at the time appointed. He found a magnificent entertainment, and the sea covered with fishermens boats, who one after another brought Pythius a great quantity of fish, as if they had just taken them in his presence.*

^h *Canius being very much surprised at the sight; What,*

says he to Pythius, is there such a quantity of fish, and such a number of fishing-boats here every day! Every day, answered Pythius. This is the only place about Syracuse, where there is any fish, and where fishermen can even get water; and all these people cannot subsist in any other place.

Incensus,

ⁱ *Incensus Canius cupiditate, contendit à Pythio ut venderet. Gravate ille primò. Quid multa? Impetrat: emit homo cupidus & locuples tanti, quanti Pythius voluit, & emit instructos: nomina facit: negotium conficit.* Nothing can be finer than this. But these two words, *homo cupidus & locuples* are uncommonly elegant. They include the two motives which determined Canius to buy this little house at so high a price, which is, that he had a great inclination to possess it, and was very rich. The translator has not taken the true sense of the first word, *Canius, homme riche, qui aimoit son plaisir.* That does not signify *homo cupidus*.

^k *Invitat Canius postridie familiares suos: venit ipse maturus. Scalmum nullum videt. Quærit ex proximo vicino, num feriæ quædam piscatorum essent, quòd eos nullos videret. Nullæ, quod sciam, inquit ille: sed hic piscari nulli solent. Itaque heri mirabar quid accidisset. Stomachari Canius. Sed quid faceret? Nondum enim Aquillius, collega & familiaris meus, protulerat de dolo malo formulas: in quibus ipsis, cum ex eo quæreretur*

ⁱ *Behold Canius enamoured with the house; He presses Pythius to sell it him: Pythius seems very unwilling; is mightily courted; but consents at last. Canius being a man of wealth and pleasure, buys the house, giving Pythius whatever he asked for it, together with the furniture. The contract is signed. Thus the affair is ended.* *fishermen were making holiday, seeing none of them there. Not that I know of, replies the neighbour; for there never is any fishing in this place, and I was yesterday surpris'd to see so many fishing-boats. Upon this, Canius began to fall into a great rage. But what could he do? For my colleague and friend Aquillius had not yet established the formula against deceit and treachery: What is called deceit then, says the same Aquillius, is when we give a man room to expect one thing, when we act another.*

^k *Canius intreats his friends to come to see him the day following at his new habitation. He repairs thither himself very early in the morning, but sees neither fishermen nor fishing-boats. He asks a neighbour whether the*

quid

quid esset dolus malus, respondebat, cum esset aliud simulatum, aliud actum.

Though we should suppress certain turns, a certain number of ideas and expressions in this narrative, still the foundation will be the same, and none of the necessary circumstances will be omitted¹, but then it will be divested of all its beauty and delicacy, that is, of every thing that adorns an oration.

VII. ^m I cannot forbear relating in this place, a story which Pliny the naturalist has left us, where we may see in a single word, the meaning and energy of that plain and natural embellishment of which we are now treating. A slave who had got out of the state of captivity, having purchased a small field, cultivated it with so much care, that it became the most fertile in the whole country; which drew on him the jealousy of all his neighbours, who charged him with employing magic and charms, to make his own field so surprizingly fruitful, and theirs barren. Upon this, he was cited to appear before the people of Rome. He appeared accordingly on the day appointed for his tryal. It is known that the assembly of the people was held in the *Forum*, which was the public place of justice. ⁿ He brought his daughter with him, who, says the historian from whom this is borrowed, was a sturdy country wench, very laborious, well fed and cloathed. He had brought all his rustic instruments, which were in a very good condition; some very heavy mattocks, a strong plough, and his oxen, which were

¹ Caret ceteris lenociniis expositio; & nisi commendetur hac venustate, jaceat necesse est. *Quintil. l. 4. c. 2.*

^m Plin. l. 18. c. 6.

ⁿ Instrumentum rusticum om-

ne in forum attulit, & adduxit filiam validam, atque (ut ait Piso) bene curatam ac vestitam, ferramenta egregie facta, graves ligones, vomeres ponderosos, boves saturos.

both large and fat. Then, turning to the judges, these, says he, are my charms, and the magic I use in cultivating my field. I cannot, says he, set before you my toil, my watchings and my labour, by day and by night On the whole, he was unanimously acquitted.

There is no person but must be sensibly touched at the bare reading of this, with the beauty of that answer; *These, O Romans, are my charms!* But in what then does that beauty consist? Is there any extraordinary thought in those few words; any shining expression, bold metaphor, or sublime figure? There is nothing of all this. 'Tis only the natural and honest simplicity of the answer drawn from nature itself, that pleases and charms. If we substituted the wittiest and most florid oration that can be conceived, in the room of those few, plain and homely words, we should take away all the grace in this peasant's answer. Thus it was, according to the same ° Pliny, that Nero, who, from an ill taste, preferred what was brilliant to simplicity, spoiled one of the finest statues of Lysippus, by ordering it to be gilt, because it was made of brass. But it was afterwards found necessary to take off the gilding, (it having spoiled all the beauty of the artist) and by that means the statue recovered its former value.

ARTICLE the SECOND.

Of the sublime.

The sublime, or marvellous, is that which constitutes the grand and true eloquence. M. de la Mothe defines it thus, in the discourse prefixed to his odes. *I believe*, says he, *the sublime is*

° Plin. 34. c. 3.

nothing but the true, and the new, united in a grand idea, and expressed with elegance and brevity. He afterwards assigns the reason of every branch of this definition. The place deserves well to be read, and contains very judicious reflections. I am, however, in doubt if the last part of this definition be very just; *expressed with elegance and brevity*. Are these two qualities then so essential to the *sublime*, that it cannot subsist without them? I thought elegance so far from being the proper characteristic of the sublime, that it was often opposed to it, and, I own, I discover nothing of it in the two examples cited by M. de la Mothe: one of them is out of Moses; *God said, let there be light, and there was light*; the other from Homer; *Great God, give but us day, and then fight against us*. As to brevity, it is sometimes proper for the sublime, when it consists of a short and lively thought, as in the former examples; but in my opinion it does not constitute its essence^p. There are a great many passages in Demosthenes and Cicero, which are very much amplified, and yet very sublime, though no brevity appears in them. I make use of the same freedom which M. de la Mothe gives his readers in the place in question, and only point out my doubts, submitting them to his better understanding. The excellent treatise of Longinus upon this topic, would alone be sufficient to form the taste of youth. I propose little more in this place than to draw some reflections from it, which may serve as so many rules and principles.

Boileau asserts, that Longinus does not understand by the sublime, what the orators call the sublime style, but that *extraordinary*, that

^p Probably it is not that species of the sublime which is defined in this place.

marvellous which strikes in discourse, and gives a work that force which ravishes and transports. The sublime style, says he, always requires grand expressions; but the sublime may be formed in a single thought, a single figure, a single turn of words. Without entering upon an examination of this remark, which admits of several difficulties, I think it sufficient to observe, that by the sublime, I here understand, as well that which is more amplified and is found in the thread of the oration; as that which is more concise and consists in lively and moving strokes; because I find equally in both kinds, a manner of thinking and expression, great and noble, which is the essence of the sublime.

I. The plain style of which I treated at first, though it be perfect in its kind, and often full of inimitable graces, is proper for instructing, proving, and even for pleasing; but it does not produce any of those important effects, without which Cicero¹ looks upon eloquence as trifling. As these plain and natural beauties have nothing of the grand, and as we see the orator always serene and calm, the equality of style used in that kind of eloquence does not at all warm and raise the soul; whereas² the sublime species produces a certain kind of admiration mixt with astonishment and surprize, which is quite another thing than barely to please or persuade. We may say, with regard to persuasion, that, generally speaking, it has no more power over us than what we are willing to admit; but it is not so with the sublime; it gives the discourse a noble kind of vigour, an invincible force, which ravishes the soul of every

¹ Eloquentiam, quæ admirationem non habet, nullam judico. Cic. in Epist. ad Brut.
² Longin. c. 1.

one that hears us. ———^f It ravishes the auditor by that grand and majestic tone, by those quick and lively emotions, that force and vehemence which prevail in it, and leaves him as it were struck down and darted with its thunder and lightning.

II. This Quintilian has observed on occasion of a bright and sublime passage in Cicero's defence of Cornelius Balbus^u, where he introduced a magnificent encomium on Pompey the Great. He was not only interrupted by acclamations, but likewise by extraordinary clapping of hands, which seemed no way suitable to the dignity of the place: but this would not have happened, says our rhetorician, had he nothing more in view but to inform the judges; and had expressed himself merely in a plain and elegant style. It was, no doubt, the greatness, pomp, and splendor of his eloquence, that forced from his auditory all those cries and clapping of hands which were not free or voluntary, nor the consequence of reflections, but the sudden effect of a kind of transport and enthusiasm, which carried them from themselves, without giving them time to consider what they did, or where they were.

III. This is properly the difference between the effects of the mediate or embellished kind of elo-

^f Chap. 18.

^u Nec fortibus modò sed etiam fulgentibus armis præliatus in causa est Cicero Cornelii: qui non assecutus esset docendo judicem tantum, & utiliter demum ac Latine perspicueque dicendo, ut populus Romanus admirationem suam non acclamatione tantum, sed etiam plausu confiteretur. Sublimitas profecto, & magnificentia, & auctoritas, expressit il-

lum fragorem. Nec tam insolita laus esset prosecuta dicentem si usitata & ceteris similis fuisset oratio. Atque ego illos credo, qui aderant, nec sensisse quid facerent, nec sponte iudicioque plausisse, sed velut mente captos, & quo essent in loco ignaros, erupisse in hunc voluntatis affectum. *Quintil. l. 8. c. 3.*

^u Cicero's oration for Cornelius Balbus, n. 9. 16.

quence, of which we shall presently treat, and the sublime. * This moves, agitates, carries the soul above itself, and immediately makes such an impression on the readers or hearers as is difficult, if not impossible to resist; and the remembrance whereof continues a long time in our minds, and cannot be effaced without some trouble; whereas the common or ordinary style, though full of beauties and elegancies, touches only the surface of the soul, as it were, and leaves it in its natural and calm state. In a word, the one pleases and flatters, the other ravishes and transports †. Thus we don't admire little rivulets, though their waters are clear, transparent, and even useful to us; but we are really surpris'd, when we view the Danube, the Nile, the Rhine, and above all the Ocean.

IV. The sublime is distinguished into several kinds: it is not always vehement and impetuous. Plato's style is lofty, though it flows gently without noise. ‡ Demosthenes is grand, though close and concise; and so is Cicero, though diffusive and copious. We may compare Demosthenes on account of his vehemency, rapidity, and force, and the violence with which he ravages and carries away every thing, to a storm, to thunder. As to Cicero, he devours and consumes, like a great conflagration, whatever he meets, with an unextinguishable fire; which he spreads variously in his works, and receives fresh strength, as he goes on. To conclude, says Longinus, the sublime of Demosthenes is undoubtedly much more useful and efficacious in strong exaggerations and violent passions, when we must astonish, as it were, the auditors. On the other hand, copiousness is

* Longin. ch. 5.

† Chap. 29.

‡ Chap. 10.

preferable to it, when we would, if I may use the figure, diffuse an agreeable dew over the minds of people.

V. The true sublime, ^a says Longinus, consists in a grand, noble and magnificent way of thinking; and he consequently supposes the mind of him who writes or speaks, has nothing low or groveling; but on the contrary, that it is full of great ideas, generous sentiments, and an inexpressibly noble pride, that appears in all his actions. This elevation of mind and style ought to be the image and effect of a greatness of soul. Darius offered Alexander half of Asia with his daughter in marriage. *For my part, says Parmenio, if I were Alexander, I would accept these offers: And I, replies Alexander, if I were Parmenio.* Could any man but Alexander have made such an answer?

I will here give some examples of sublime thoughts, which will much better shew the beauty and characteristics of them than any precepts.

^b Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra

Orabunt causas melius, &c.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,

Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.

That is,

“ Let others better mold the running mass

“ Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,

“ And soften into flesh a marble face:

“ Plead better at the bar, &c.

“ But Rome, ’tis thine alone, with awful sway

“ To rule mankind, and make the world obey;

“ Disposing peace and war thy own majestic way.

^a Chap. 7.

^b Æn. lib. 6. v. 847, &c.

“ To tame the proud, the fetter’d slave to free :
 “ These are imperial arts, and worthy thee !”

DRYDEN.

• Et cuncta terrarum subacta
 Præter atrocem animum Cætonis.

“ I see the world obey ;
 “ All yield, and own great Cæsar’s sway,
 “ Beside the stubborn Cato’s haughty soul.

CREECH.

M. Pelisson speaks thus in his elogium on the King : *Here he abolished duelling ——— Here he knew to pardon our faults, to bear with our weaknesses, and to descend from the highest point of his glory into our most inconsiderable concerns. He is every thing to his people, a general, legislator, judge, master, benefactor, father ; that is to say, truly a King.*

^d Every thing was God, God himself excepted ; and the world which God had made to shew his power, seemed now a temple of idols.

There were about five hundred years to the coming of the Messias. God invested the majesty of his Son with the power of silencing the prophets during all that time, in order to keep his people in expectation of him who was to be the accomplishment of all their oracles.

• Que peuvent contre lui (*contre Dieu*) tous les Rois de la terre ?

En vain ils s’uniroient pour lui faire la guerre.
 Pour dissiper leur ligue il n’a qu’à se montrer.
 Il parle, & dans la poudre ils les fait tous rentrer.
 Au seul son de sa voix la mer fuit, le ciel tremble.
 Il voit comme un néant tout l’univers ensemble,

• Horat. Od. 1. lib. 2.

• Rac. Esth.

• Bossuet hist. univ.

Et les foibles mortels, vains jouets du trépas,
Sont tous devant ses yeux comme s'ils n'étoient pas.

Thus englished,

- “ What can all earthly monarchs against God ?
“ In vain their hosts united would annoy him.
“ If he but shew himself, he breaks their leagues,
“ He speaks, and instantly they fall to dust.
“ The universe is nothing in his sight.
“ The ocean flies, earth trembles at his voice,
“ And infect men, pale death's fantastic sport,
“ Are all before him, as though they were not.

This other passage in the same poet is no less sublime, though in one verse.

Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, & n'ai point d'autre crainte.

Englished,

“ Abner, I fear my God, and him alone.”

In all these places, the sublime results from the nobleness and greatness of the thoughts ; but it must be owned, that what is said of God effaces all the rest : and indeed, it is fit that every thing should disappear, and be as nothing before him.

VI. The majesty of the thoughts is generally followed by that of the words, which, in their turn, are of service to raise the thoughts ^f. But we must be very careful not to take for sublime, a specious shew of greatness, generally founded on lofty expressions, jumbled together by chance ; and which, when examined narrowly, are nothing but an empty assemblage of inflated words ^g, rather to be contemned than admired. Indeed, inflation is as vicious in discourse as in the natural body. It has only a false and deceitful outside ;

^f Long. ch. 5.

^g Ch. 2.

but within it is hollow and empty.—— This fault is not easily avoided ; for since we naturally seek after the grand in every thing, and are particularly afraid of being charged with dryness, or want of force in our works or discourses ; it happens, I know not how, that most people fall into that error, founded upon this common maxim.

Dans un noble projet on tombe noblement.

Englified,

“ 'Tis great to fall in great attempts.”

^h It is a difficult task to stop where we ought, as Cicero does, who, according to ⁱ Quintilian, never soars too high ; or as Virgil, who is sober even in his enthusiasm.-----Those Latin declaimers, whose sentiments are taken notice of by Seneca the father, on occasion of Alexander's deliberating whether he should carry his conquests beyond the ocean, are extravagant. Some of these say ^k, that Alexander should content himself with conquering where the planet of the day is content to shine ; ^l that it is time for Alexander to cease his conquests, where the world ceases to be, and the sun to give its light. ^m Others, that fortune assigned the same limits to his victories, as nature assigned to the world ; that Alexander ⁿ is great in comparison of the world, and the world little in comparison of Alexander ; ^o that there is no-

^h Le P. Bouhours.

ⁱ Non supra modum elatus
Tullius. *Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.*

^k Satis sit hactenus vicisse
Alexandro, qua mundo lucere
satis est.

^l Tempus est Alexandrum
cum orbe & cum sole desinere.

^m Eundem fortuna victo-

riae tuæ, quem natura, finem
facit.

ⁿ Alexander orbi magnus
est : Alexandro orbis angustus
est.

^o Non magis quicquam ul-
tra Alexandrum novimus, quàm
ultra oceanum. *Suafer. 1.*

thing

thing beyond Alexander, no more than beyond the Ocean.

What a certain historian says of Pompey is scarce less extravagant than the passages above cited. *P Such, says he, was the end of Pompey, after three consulships, and as many triumphs, or rather, after subduing the world; fortune being so inconsistent with herself, with regard to this great man, that the earth which before failed him for victories, now failed him for a grave.*

The following passage in Malherbe is still more extravagant; he speaks of St. Peter's repentance.

C'est alors que ses cris en tonnerre s'éclatent :
Ses soupirs se font vents qui les chênes combattent :
Et ses pleurs qui tantôt descendoient mollement,
Ressemblent un torrent qui des hautes montagnes
Ravageant & noiant les voisines campagnes,
Veut que tout l'univers ne soit qu'un élément.

Thus englished.

“ Then Peter's moan is like the thunder's voice,
“ His sighs are winds and rend the sturdiest oaks.
“ His tears which silently stole down his cheek,
“ Now are like torrents, which from highest moun-
“ tains
“ Rushing, sweep hamlets, cities, all before them,
“ And once again would drown the frightened globe.

This excellent poet quits visibly his character in this place, and shews us how easy it is for bombast and fustian to usurp the place of the grand and sublime. This piece was, no doubt, writ in Malherbe's youth, and seems unworthy of his other pieces.

P Hic post tres consulatus & se discordante fortuna, ut, cui totidem triumphos domitumque modò ad victoriam terra defue-
terrarum orbem, vitæ fuit ex-
itus in tantum in illo viro à
Patere. lib. 2.

VII. ¶ Figures are not the least part of the sublime, and they give the greatest vivacity to a discourse. Demosthenes endeavouring to justify his conduct after the loss of the battle of Cheronea, and to revive the courage of the Athenians, who were cast down and frightened at that defeat, tells them, *No, gentlemen, you are not dejected, nor has your courage forsaken you. This I swear, by the shades of those illustrious men who fell for the same cause in the plains of Marathon, at Salamis, and before Platea.* He might have barely said, that the example of those great men justified their conduct; but by changing the natural air of the proofs, into that grand and pathetic manner of affirming by such new and extraordinary oaths, he raises those antient citizens above the condition of mere mortals; he inspires his auditors with the spirit and sentiments of those renowned deceased persons; and equals in some measure, the battle they lost against Philip, with the victories they had formerly gained at Marathon and Salamis.

Cicero imputes the death of Clodius to a just anger of the Gods, who at length revenged their temples and altars, which the crimes of that impious wretch had profaned. He does it after a very sublime manner, by appealing to the altars and the Gods, and making use of the greatest figures in † rhetoric. † *Albani tumuli atque luci,*

vos,

¶ Longin. ch. 14.

† Cicero's Oration for Milo.
n. 85.

† I call to witness and implore you, holy hills of Alba, which Clodius has profaned! venerable woods which he has cut down! sacred altars! the band of our union, and antient as

Rome itself, upon the ruins whereof this reprobate had raised these prodigious buildings: . . . your religion violated, your worship abolished, your mysteries polluted, your Gods treated outrageously, have at length displayed their power and vengeance. And thou, divine Jupiter Latialis,

vos, inquam, imploro atque obtestor; vosque Albanorum obrutæ aræ, sacrorum populi Romani sociæ & æquales, quas ille præceps amentia, cæsis prostratisque sanctissimis lucis, substructionum insanis molibus oppresserat: vestræ tum aræ, vestræ religiones viguerunt, vestra vis valuit, quam ille omni scelere polluerat. Tuque, ex tuo edito monte, Latialis sancte Jupiter, cujus ille lacus, nemora, finesque, sæpe omni nefario stupro & scelere macularat, aliquando ad eum puniendum oculos aperuisti. Vobis illæ, vobis, vestro in conspectu, seræ, sed justæ tamen & debitæ pænæ solutæ sunt.

M. Flechier describes a death very different from that of Clodius in a very sublime manner, by employing also the most lively figures. O terrible God, but just in your councils upon the children of men, you dispose both of the vanquishers and of victories! To accomplish your will, and make us fear your judgments, your power overthrows those whom your power had raised. You sacrifice great victims to your sovereign greatness; and you strike, when you think fit, those illustrious heads which you have so often crowned. This passage is certainly great, and would perhaps be more so, if it had fewer antitheses.

Do not expect, gentlemen, to see me open a tragical scene in this place, which shall represent this great man stretched out and extended on his own trophies; that I shall uncover the pale and bloody corpse, about which the thunderbolt that struck him is still smoking; that I shall make his blood cry

tialis, whose lakes and woods he had so often defiled with so many crimes and impurities, thou hast, at last, from the summit of thy holy mountain, looked down upon this wicked wretch, in order to punish him. It is to thee, and

under thine eyes; it is to thee that a slow, but just vengeance, has sacrificed this victim, whose blood was due to thee.

M. Turenne's funeral oration.

out like Abel's ; and that I am setting before your eyes the sad images of your weeping religion and country.

ARTICLE the THIRD.

Of the mediate kind.

Between the two species of eloquence, of which we have hitherto treated, *viz.* the plain and the sublime, there is a third placed, as it were, between the other two, and may be called the embellished and florid kind ; because in this eloquence displays her greatest splendor and beauty. All we therefore have to do, is, to make some reflections on this kind of style, which may help young people to discern true and solid ornaments from those that have nothing but shew and parade. I'll give no examples on this occasion, because those I cited before when I treated of composition, and many of those I shall cite hereafter are of the florid kind, and may serve for the present subject.

I. Ornaments in eloquence are certain turns and methods which contribute to make an oration more agreeable, more engaging, and even more persuasive. The orator does not speak only to be understood, for then it would be sufficient to relate things in the plainest manner, provided it was clear and intelligible. His principal view, is, to convince and to move, in which he cannot succeed, if he does not find out the art of pleasing. He endeavours to reach the understanding and the affections ; but he cannot do this, otherwise than by passing through the imagination, which consequently must be addressed in its own language, *viz.* that of figures and images, because nothing can strike or move it but sensible objects. This made

Quintilian

" Quintilian say, that pleasure is a help to persuasion, and that the auditors are always disposed to believe what they find agreeable. It is not enough then, that the discourse be clear and intelligible, or abounding with a great number of reasons, and just thoughts. Eloquence adds to that perspicuity and justness, a certain beauty and splendor, which we call ornament, whereby the orator satisfies both the understanding and the imagination. He gives to the former, truth, justness of thoughts, and proofs, which are, as it were, its natural nourishment; and he grants to the latter, beauty, delicacy, the grace of expressions and turns, which belong more peculiarly to it.

II. " Some people are averse to all ornaments of discourse, and think no eloquence natural but that whose plain style resembles the language of conversation; these look upon every thing as superfluous that is added to mere necessity; and think it a dishonour to truth to give her a foreign dress, which they fancy she does not want, and can serve to no other end than to disfigure her. If we were to speak before philosophers only, or people free from all passion and prejudice, this notion might perhaps appear reasonable. But it is far otherwise; and if the orator did not find the art of winning his auditors by the pleasure he gives them, and by leading them by a gentle kind of violence, justice and truth would often be bore down by the at-

" Multum ad fidem adjuvat audientis voluptas. *Quintil. l. 5.*

c. 14.

Nescio quomodo etiam credit facilius quæ audienti jucunda sunt, & voluptate ad fidem ducitur. *lib. 4. cap. 2.*

" Quidam nullam esse naturalem eloquentiam putant, nisi

quæ sit quotidiano sermoni simillima, contenti promere animi voluntatem, nihilque accersiti & elaborati requirunt: quicquid huc sit adjectum, id esse affectationis, & ambitiosæ in loquendo jactantiæ, remotumque à veritate. *Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.*

tempts

tempts of the wicked. * This, Rutilius, a man of the greatest justice and virtue at Rome, found to be true in the judgment given against him; because he would employ no other arms for his defence but naked truth, as though he had lived in Plato's imaginary commonwealth. It would not have been so, says Anthony to Crassus, in one of Cicero's dialogues, had you defended him; not after the manner of the philosophers, but your own; and had the judges been ever so corrupt, your victorious eloquence would have surmounted all their wickedness, and have preserved a citizen, who had a title to be so, from their injustice.

III. 'Tis this talent of embellishing a discourse, that distinguishes between a well-spoken and an eloquent man ^v. The former is contented with saying what must be said upon any subject; but to be truly eloquent, we must express it with all the proper and necessary graces and ornaments. The well-spoken man, that is, he who expresses himself in a clear and judicious manner only, leaves his auditors cold and sedate; and does not raise those sentiments of admiration and surprize, which, ^z in Cicero's opinion, can only be effected by

* Cum esset ille vir (Rutilius) exemplum, ut scitis, innocentie . . . noluit ne ornatius quidem aut liberius causam dici suam, quam simplex ratio veritatis ferebat . . . Quod si tibi, Crasse, pro P. Rutilio, non philosophorum more, sed tuo, licuisset dicere; quamvis scelerati illi fuissent, sicuti fuerunt pestiferi cives suppliciiisque digni, tamen omnem eorum importunitatem ex intimis mentibus evellisset vis orationis tue. Nunc talis vir amissus est, dum

causa ita dicitur, ut si in illa commentitia Platonis civitate res ageretur. 1. *de Orat.* n. 229, 230.

^v M. Antonius ait (*l. 1. de Orat.* n. 94.) à se disertos viros esse multos, eloquentem autem neminem. Disertis satis putat, dicere quæ oporteat; ornatè autem dicere, proprium esse eloquentissimi. *Quintil. Proæm.* l. 8.

^z In quo igitur homines exhorrescunt? Quem stupefacti dicentem audiunt? . . . qui distinctè,

by a discourse adorned and enriched with whatever is most splendid in eloquence, both in thought and expressions.

IV. There is one kind of eloquence which is wholly adapted to ostentation, having no other end than to please the auditors ; such as academical orations, compliments to potentates, some sort of panegyrics, and the like ^a, where liberty is given to display all the splendor and pageantry of art ; ingenious thoughts, strong expressions, turns and agreeable figures, bold metaphors ; in a word, the orator ^b may not only exhibit whatever is most magnificent and shining in art, but even make a parade and shew of it, in order to satisfy the auditor's expectation ; who comes with no other view but to hear a fine discourse, and whose good opinion we can gain by no other means than by the force of elegance and beauty.

V. ^c It is however necessary, even in this kind, that

finctè, qui explicatè, qui abundanter, qui illuminatè & rebus & verbis dicunt : id est, quod dico ornatè. *lib. 3. de Orat.* n. 53.

^a Illud genus ostentationi compositum solam petit audientium voluptatem, ideoque omnes dicendi artes aperit, ornatumque orationis exponit . . . Quare quicquid erit sententiis popolare, verbis nitidum, figuris jucundum, translationibus magnificum, compositione elaboratum, velut institor quidam eloquentiæ, intuendum & penè pertractandum dabit. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 3.

^b In hoc genere, permittitur adhibere plus cultûs, omnemque artem, quæ latere plerum-

que in judiciis debet, non confiteri modò, sed ostentare etiam hominibus in hoc advocatis. *Quintil.* l. 92. c. 11.

^c Ut conspersa sit quasi verborum sententiarumque floribus, id non debet esse fufum æqualiter per omnem orationem. Genus dicendi est eligendum, quod maximè teneat eos qui audiant, & quod non solum delectet, sed etiam sine satietate delectet . . . Difficile enim dictu est, quænam causa sit cur ea quæ maximè sensus nostros impellunt voluptate & specie prima acerrimè commovent, ab iis celerrimè fastidio quodam & satietate abalienemur . . . Omnibus in rebus voluptatibus maximis fastidium finitimum est :

that the ornaments be distributed with a kind of prudence and moderation, and particular care must be taken to vary and diversify them. Cicero insists very much on this, as one of the most considerable rules in eloquence. We must, says he, make choice of an agreeable species of writing, which may please the audience, but so, as not to create or give them any dislike : for this effect is generally produced by those things which strike us at first with a lively sense of pleasure, without our being very well able to give any reason for it. He gives us many examples of this, drawn from painting, music, odours, liquors, meats ; and after laying down this maxim, that loathing and surfeiting follow close after pleasure, and that the sweetest things become soonest tasteless and insipid ; he concludes from thence, that a work, whether in prose or verse, will not long delight, if it be too uniform, and always in the same strain, whatever graces or elegance it may boast in other respects. An oration which is every where painted without the least mixture or variety ; where every thing strikes and is brilliant, or rather dazzles, as it were, than creates true admiration : will weary and fatigue us by too many beauties, and displease us in the end by overmuch pains to please. There must be shadows in eloquence, as well as in painting ; and all must not be light.

VI. If this be true, even in that kind of ora-

est : quo hoc minùs in oratione miremur, in qua vel ex poetis, vel ex oratoribus, possumus judicare, concinnam, distinctam, ornatam, festivam, sine intermissione, sine reprehensione, sine varietate, quamvis claris sit coloribus picta vel poësis vel oratio, non posse in

delectatione esse diuturna. Habeat itaque illa in dicendo admiratio ac summa laus umbram aliquam & recessum ; quo magis id, quod erit illuminatum, extare atque eminere videatur. 3. *de Orat.* n. 96, 97, 98, 100, 101.

tions which are only included for parade and ceremony, how much more exactly must the precept be observed, in those that treat of serious and important affairs; such as the eloquence of the pulpit and the bar? When an affair relates to the estates, repose, and honour of families, and, what is yet much more considerable, to eternal salvation; is the orator allowed to be solicitous about his reputation, or amuse himself with endeavouring to display his abilities? ^d Not that we pretend to exclude the graces and beauties of style from these orations; but the ornaments which are allowed to be employed in them, must be very serious, modest, and severe; ^e and arise rather from the matter itself, than from the genius of the orator. I shall have occasion to treat this subject in a more extensive manner hereafter; ^f nor can it be too often repeated. The dress and cloathing of such discourses must be masculine, noble, and chaste. The kind of eloquence that is proper for these, must be void of all paint and affectation; must shine however, but with health, if we may use the expression, and owes its beauty to its vigour: ^g for it must be with orations, as with the human body, which derives its real graces from its good constitution; whereas paint and artifice only spoil the face by the very method used to beautify it.

^d Neque hoc eò pertinet, ut in his nullus sit ornatus, sed uti pressior, & severior. *Quintil. l. 8. c. 3.*

^e Omnia potius à causa, quam ab oratore, profecta credantur. *Quintil. l. 4. c. 2.*

^f Sed hic ornatus (repetam enim) virilis, fortis, & sanctus sit: nec effeminatam levitatem, nec fucò eminentem colorem amet. Sanguine & viribus ni-

teat. *Quintil. l. 8. c. 3.*

^g Corpora sana, & integri sanguinis, & exercitatione firmata, ex iisdem his speciem accipiunt, ex quibus vires: namque & colorata, & adstricta, & lacertis expressa sunt. Sed eadem si quis vulsa atque fucata muliebriter comat, sceddissima sint ipso formæ labore. *Quintil. Proæm. l. 8.*

VII. ^b A maxim of great importance, which is verified both in the works of nature and those of art, is, that those things which are most useful in themselves, have generally most dignity and gracefulness. ⁱ Let us cast our eye a little on the symmetry and order of the different parts of a building, or a ship; those which form the structure of man's body, and that harmony in the universe, which we are never weary of admiring; we shall perceive, that each of those parts, the benefit or necessity of which alone might seem to have given the idea of it, contributes also very much to the beauty of the whole. The same thing may be said of an oration. That which constitutes its strength, forms its beauty, ^k and real beauty is never separated from utility.

VIII. This maxim may be very useful in distinguishing real and natural graces from such as are fictitious and foreign; it is only examining if they are beneficial or necessary for the subject to be treated. ^l There is a flashy style, which imposes upon us by an empty gingle of words, or

^b Ut in plerisque rebus incredibiliter hoc natura est ipsa fabricata, sic in oratione, ut ea, quæ maximam in se utilitatem continerent, eadem haberent plurimum vel dignitatis, vel sæpe etiam venustatis. *de Orat.* n. 178.

ⁱ Singula hanc habent in specie venustatem, ut non solum salutis, sed etiam voluptatis causâ inventa esse videantur. . . Habent non plus utilitatis, quàm dignitatis. . . Capitoli fastigium illud, & ceterarum ædium, non venustas, sed necessitas ipsa fabricata est. n. 180.

Hoc in omnibus item parti-

bus orationis evenit, ut utilitatem, ac propè necessitatem, suavitatem quædam ac lepos consequatur. n. 181.

^k Nunquam vera species ab utilitate dividitur. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 3.

^l Vitiosum est & corruptum dicendi genus, quod aut verborum licentiâ resultat, aut puerilibus sententiis lascivir, aut immodico tumore turgescit, aut inanibus locis bacchatur, aut casuris si leviter excutiantur flosculis nitet, aut præcipitia pro sublimibus habet. *Quintil.* l. 12. c. 10.

is always in search of little childish cold thoughts ; is mounted upon stilts, or loses its self in common places void of sense ; or shines with some small flowers, which fall as soon as we begin to shake them ; or fly, as it were, to the clouds, in order to catch the sublime. But all this is far from true eloquence, it being nothing but an idle and ridiculous parade ; and to make youth sensible of this, they must attend very carefully to that exact severity of good writers, antient or modern, who never depart from their subject, and never exaggerate. ^m For these false graces and false beauties vanish, when solid ones are opposed to them.

IX. I would willingly compare the graces of a florid style with respect to the beauties of one that is more nervous and just, to what Pliny has observed of flowers when he compares them to trees. ⁿ Nature, says he, seems as if she intended to divert, and, as it were, sport in that variety of flowers, with which she adorns the fields and gardens : an inconceivable variety, and above all description, because nature is much more capable to paint, than man is to speak. But as she produces flowers for pleasure only, so she often indulges them only a day's duration ; whereas she gives a great number of years, and sometimes whole ages to trees which are intended for man's

^m Evanescent hæc atque emoriuntur comparatione meliorum : ut lana tincta fucis citra purpuram placet. . . . Si verò judicium his corruptis acrius adhibeas, jam illud quod sefellerat, exuat mentitum colorem, & quadam vix enarrabili sceditate pallefcit. *Ibid.*

ⁿ Inenarrabilis florum varietas : quando nulli potest facilius esse loqui, quàm rerum na-

turæ pingere, lascivienti præsertim, & in magno gaudio fertilitatis tam variè ludenti. Quippe reliqua usus alimentique gratia genuit ideoque sæcula annosque tribuit iis. Flores verò odoresque in diem gignit : magna (ut palam est) admonitione hominum, quæ spectatissimè floreat, celerrimè marcescere. *Plin. hist. nat. l. 21. c. 1.*

nourishment, and the necessities of life, in order, no doubt, to intimate to us, that what is gay and splendid soon passes away, and presently loses its vivacity and lustre. It is easy to apply this thought to the beauties of the style, whereof we are now speaking, which we know the orators generally call ° flowers.

ARTICLE the FOURTH.

General reflections on the three kinds of Eloquence.

IT would be of no advantage to examine which of these three kinds is fittest for an orator, since he must possess them all ; P and that his ability consists in making a proper use of them, according to the different subjects he undertakes to handle ; so as that he may be able to temper the one with the other, mixing sometimes strength with gentleness, and sometimes gentleness with strength. ¶ Besides, these three kinds have something common in their diversity of style, which unites them ; that is, a just and natural taste of beauty, abhorrent of paint and affectation.

But I cannot help observing, that this florid and shining eloquence, which sparkles, as it were,

° Ut conspersa sit verborum sententiarumque floribus, id non debet esse fuscum æquabiliter per omnem orationem. 3. *de Orat.* n. 96.

P Magni judicii, summæ etiam facultatis esse debet moderator ille & quasi temperator hujus tripartitæ varietatis. Nam & judicabit quid cuique opus sit ; & poterit. quocumque modo postulabit causa, dicere. *Orat.* n. 70.

¶ Si habitum etiam orationis & quasi colorem aliquem requiritis, est plena quædam, & tamen teres ; & tenuis, & non sine nervis ac viribus, & ea, quæ particeps utriusque generis, quadam mediocritate laudatur. His tribus figuris infundere quidam venustatis non fuco illitus, sed sanguine diffusus debet color. 3. *de Orat.* n. 199.

through

throughout with wit ; is immoderately lavish of its graces and beauties, upon which we generally put so great a value, and often prefer to all others ; and which seems to be so agreeable to the taste of our age, though almost unknown to the judicious writers of antiquity, is, nevertheless, of no great use, and is confined within narrow limits. This kind of eloquence is, certainly, no way suitable to the pulpit or the bar : neither is it proper for pious or moral subjects, or books of controversy, learned dissertations, confutations, apologies, nor for almost an infinite number of other works of literature. History, which should be written in a plain and natural style, would no way agree with one so affected ; and it would be still more intolerable in letters, whose chief characteristic is simplicity. To what use then, shall we reduce this so much boasted kind of eloquence ? I shall leave the reader to examine the places and occasions where it may be reasonably admitted ; and to consider whether it deserves all our application and esteem.

Not that all those writings I have mentioned, are void of ornament, of which Tully is a strong proof ; and he alone is sufficient to form us to all the kinds of eloquence. His epistles may give us a just idea of the epistolary style. Some of these are merely complimentary ; others of recommendation, acknowledgment, and praise. Some are gay and facetious, when he wantons with a great deal of wit ; others again grave and serious, when he discusses some important question. In some he treats of public affairs, and these, in my opinion, are not the least beautiful. * Those, for example, in which he gives an account of his conduct in the government of his

* Epist. 2. and 4. lib. 14. ad famil.

province ; first to the senate and people of Rome, and afterwards to Cato in particular, are a perfect model of the clearness, order and conciseness which should be predominant in memoirs and relations ; and we must particularly remark the dextrous and insinuating method he employs in those epistles to gain the good opinion of Cato ; and to make him favourable to him, in the demand he was to make of the honour of a triumph.

† His celebrated epistle to Luceius, where he requests him to write the history of his consulship, will ever be justly looked upon as a shining monument of his eloquence, and at the same time of his vanity. I have taken notice, in another place, of his beautiful epistle to his brother Quintus, in which all the graces and finesses of art are put in practice. His treatises of rhetoric and philosophy, are originals in their kind, and the last shew us how to treat the most subtil and knotty subjects with elegance and delicacy. As to his harangues, they comprehend all the species of eloquence, the various sorts of style, the plain, the embellished and the sublime.

What shall I say of the Greek authors ? Is it not the proper character of Homer to excel as well in minute things as in the grand ; and to join a simplicity no less surprizing, with wonderful loftiness of thought ? Is any style more delicate and elegant, more harmonious and sublime than Plato's ? Was it without reason that Demosthenes had the first rank amongst the crowd of orators who appeared in Athens at the same time ; and was looked upon to be almost the standard of eloquence ? In a word, not to

† Epist. 12. lib. v. ad famil. Demosthenes, ac penè lex orandi fuit. Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.

mention all the antient historians, can any man of sense be tired with reading Plutarch? Of all those authors therefore, who were so antiently and generally esteemed, did one of them degenerate into points and witty conceits, brilliant thoughts, far-fetched figures, and an odd jumble of beauties? And how little, how jejune and childish does this style, which is almost banished from all serious discourses, appear in comparison of the noble simplicity, or the sage greatness which form the characteristics of all learned writings, and are useful for all affairs, all times and conditions?

But in order to judge of it in this manner, we need only consult nature. It cannot be denied but those gardens so exactly trimmed and laid out; so enriched with whatever is splendid and magnificent in art; those parterres which are disposed with such a delicacy of taste; those jets-d'eau, cascades and little groves, are not very pleasing and agreeable. But dares any one compare all this with the most magnificent prospect which a " fine country presents to us, where we scarce know what to admire most; whether the gentle current of a river that rolls its waters with majesty; or those large and agreeable meadows which the numerous herds feeding in them constantly, almost animate; or those natural turfs which seem to invite to repose, and " whose magnificent verdure is not sullied by works of sculpture, or those rich hillocks, so marvellously variegated with houses,

" Terra vestita floribus, herbis, arboribus, frugibus. Quorum omnium incredibilis multitudo insatiabili varietate distinguitur. Adde huc fontium gelidas perennitates, liquores perlucidos amnium, riparum vestitus viridissimos, speluncarum concavas altitudines, saxorum

asperitates, impendentium montium altitudines, immensitatesque camporum. *lib. 2. de nat. decor. n. 98.*

" Viridi si margine clauderet undas herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum. *Juven. l. 1. sat. 3.*

trees, vineyards, and still more, by an uncultivated field; or those high mountains, which seem to be lost in the clouds; or, in a word, those wide forests, whose trees, almost as antient as the world, owe their beauty to him only who created them? Such is the most florid style, in comparison of grand and sublime eloquence.

The celebrated Atticus, so well known by the epistles which Cicero wrote to him, walking with him in a very agreeable island near one of the country-houses which that famous orator * loved above all the rest, being the place of his nativity; says to him, as he was admiring the beauty of the country, What is the magnificence of the most stately country-houses; those halls paved with marble, those gilded roofs, those vast water-works, which raise the admiration of others? and how little and contemptible did all these appear, when he compared them with that island, that rivulet, and that smiling country which he had then before his eyes? And he observes judiciously, that this opinion is no ways the effect of a whimsical prepossession, but founded in nature itself.

We must say the same of works of wit; and cannot repeat it too often to youth, to put them upon their guard against a vicious taste of brilliant thoughts; witty and far-fetched turns, which seem to aim at superiority, and has always foretold the approaching fall of eloquence. Quintilian had

* Hoc ipso in loco . . . scito me esse natum. Quare id est nescio quid, & latet in animo ac sensu meo, quo me plus hic locus fortasse delectet. 2. de leg. n. 3.

Equidem, qui nunc primum huc venerim, fatiari non queo: magnificasque villas, & pavimenta marmorea, & laqueata

testa contemno. Ductus verò aquarum; quos isti tubos & euripos vocant, quis non, cum hæc videat, irriserit. Itaque, ut tu paulo antè de lege & jure differens, ad naturam referebas omnia; sic in his ipsis rebus, quæ ad quietem animi delectationemque quærentur, natura dominatur. *Ibid.* n. 2.

reason

reason to say, that if he must be obliged to chuse, either the gross simplicity of the antients, or the extravagant licentiousness of the moderns, he would, without hesitation, prefer the former.

I shall conclude this article with some extracts from a discourse, which, in my opinion, may be proposed as a compleat model of this noble and sublime, and at the same time natural and unaffected eloquence, of which I'll endeavour to point out the characteristics here. This oration was spoke by M. Racine in the French academy, upon the admission of two members, one of whom was Thomas Corneille, who succeeded the celebrated Peter Corneille his brother. M. Racine, after drawing a comparison between the last Corneille and Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; whom renowned Athens had honoured as much as it had Themistocles, Pericles, and Alcibiades, who were contemporaries with those poets, proceeds thus :

“ Yes, Sir, let ignorance despise eloquence and
“ poetry as much as it pleases, and treat able writers as people unprofitable to the state; we will
“ not be afraid of saying this in favour of learning, and of this celebrated body of which you
“ now are a part; from the moment that sublime
“ genius's, far surpassing ordinary capacities, distinguish and immortalize themselves by such
“ master-pieces as those of your brother; whatever strange inequality fortune may make between them and the greatest heroes, while they
“ are living; yet after their deaths, that difference ceases. Posterity, who are pleased and
“ instructed by the works they left behind them, makes no difficulty of putting them upon a

² Si necesse fit, veterem illum quam istam novam licentiam. Quintil. l. 8. c. 5.

“ level

“ level with whatever is most important amongst
 “ men ; and of ranking the excellent poet with
 “ the greatest captain. The same age that is
 “ now so highly magnified for bringing forth Au-
 “ gustus, boasts no less of producing Horace and
 “ Virgil. In like manner, when posterity will
 “ speak with astonishment of the surprising victo-
 “ ries, and all the great things which will render
 “ ours the admiration of all future ages ; Cor-
 “ neille, (let us not doubt of it) Corneille will
 “ have a place among all those wonders. France
 “ will remember with pleasure, that the greatest
 “ of her poets flourished in the reign of the
 “ greatest of her Kings. They will likewise
 “ think it makes some addition to the glory of
 “ our august Monarch, when they will say, he
 “ esteemed and honoured that excellent genius with
 “ his beneficence ; that even two days before his
 “ death, and when he was just at his last gasp,
 “ he sent him fresh proofs of his liberality ; and
 “ that the last words of Corneille were acknow-
 “ ledgments to *Lewis the Great.*”

M. de Bergeret, cabinet-secretary, having been
 received in the French academy the same day
 with M. Corneille, M. Racine pronounced a mag-
 nificent elogium on Lewis XIV. of which I'll
 borrow some part in this place.

“ Who would have said in the beginning of
 “ the last year, and even in this season, when
 “ we saw so much hatred and animosity break
 “ out on all sides ; so many leagues forming ;
 “ and that spirit of discord and suspicion which
 “ kindled the war in the four quarters of Eu-
 “ rope ; who would have said, that all would be
 “ peaceable and quiet before the end of the spring ?
 “ What probability was there of dissipating such
 “ a number of confederacies in so short a time ?
 “ How was it possible to reconcile so many con-
 “ trary

“ trary interests ? How calm that crowd of states
“ and potentates, who were much more irritated at
“ our power, than at the ill treatment they pretended
“ to have received ? Would not one have thought
“ that a twenty years conference would not be suf-
“ ficient for putting an end to all these Quarrels ?
“ The diet of Germany, which was to examine
“ but a part of them only, were no further ad-
“ vanced than to the preliminaries, after an appli-
“ cation of three years. In the mean time, the
“ King had resolved in his cabinet, that for the good
“ of Christendom there should be no war. The
“ night before he was to set out to his army, he
“ writes six lines, and sends them to his ambassa-
“ dor at the Hague. Upon this the provinces en-
“ ter into deliberation ; the ministers of the high
“ allies assemble ; every thing is in agitation, every
“ thing in motion. Some will not comply with any
“ thing demanded of them ; others demand what
“ has been taken from them ; but all are deter-
“ mined not to lay down their arms. The King,
“ in the mean time, causes Luxemburgh to be
“ taken on the one hand ; and on the other marches
“ in person, to the gates of Mons. Here he sends
“ generals to his allies ; there he orders the bom-
“ bardment of Genoa. He forces Algiers to ask
“ pardon. He even applies himself to regulate
“ the civil affairs of his kingdom ; relieves the
“ people, and makes them enjoy the fruits of
“ peace beforehand ; and at length finds his ene-
“ mies, as he had foreseen, after a great many
“ conferences, projects and useless complaints,
“ forced to accept of the very conditions he had
“ offered them, without being able to retrench
“ or add any thing to them ; or, to speak more
“ properly, without being able, with all their ef-
“ forts, to go one step out of the narrow circle he
“ was pleased to mark out for them.

These

These two passages are certainly beautiful, grand and sublime. Every thing pleases, every thing strikes, but not with affected graces, exact antitheses, or flashy thoughts ; nothing of that kind is seen there. It is the importance and greatness of the things themselves, and the ravishing ideas, which constitute the character of true and perfect eloquence, such as was always admired in Demosthenes. The elogium of the King concludes with a grand thought, which leaves us to imagine infinitely more than it discovers, *without being able to go one step out of the narrow circle, he was pleased to mark out for them.* We imagine ourselves assisting at the conference, where Popilius, that haughty Roman, having prescribed terms of peace to Antiochus, in the name of the senate ; and observing this King endeavoured to elude them, enclosed him in a ² circle which he made round him with a little stick he had in his hand ; and obliged him to give him a positive answer, before he would let him out of it. This historical passage, which we shall leave the reader the pleasure of applying, has much more grace and ornament, than if we had cited the place from which it is taken.

S E C T. II.

What must chiefly be observed in reading or expounding authors.

I will reduce these observations to seven or eight heads, viz. the argumentation and the proofs ;

² Popilius virga quam in manu gerebat circumscriptit regem, ac : Priusquam hoc circulo excedas, inquit, redde responsum senatui, quod referam. *Obstupefactus tam violento imperio, parumper cum hæsitasset : Faciam, inquit, quod censes senatus. Liv. lib. 45. n. 12.*

the

the thoughts, the choice of words, the manner of placing them ; the figures, certain oratorical precautions, and the passions. With these remarks I will sometimes mix examples drawn from the best authors, which will both illustrate the precepts, and teach the art of composing.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

Of Argument and Proofs.

THIS is the most necessary and most indispensable part of the oratorical art ; being, as it were, the foundation of it, and to which all the rest may be said to refer. For the expressions, the thoughts, figures, and all the other ornaments we shall speak of hereafter, come to support the proofs, and are only used to improve and place them in a clearer light. ^a They are to an oration what the skin and flesh are to the body, which form its beauty and gracefulness, but not its strength and solidity ; they likewise cover and adorn the bones and nerves ; but then they suppose these, and cannot supply their room ^b. I don't deny but we must study to please, and, which is more, to touch ; but both will be performed with much more success, when the auditors are instructed and convinced ; which cannot be effected but by the strength of reasoning and the proofs.

^a Cetera, quæ continuo orationis tractu magis decurrunt, in auxilium atque ornamentum argumentorum comparantur, nervisque illis, quibus causa continetur, adjiciunt superinducti corporis speciem. *Quintil. l. 5. c. 8.*

^b Nec abnuerim esse aliquid in delectatione, multum verò in commovendis affectibus. Sed hæc ipsa plus valent, cum se didicisse judex putat : quod consequi nisi argumentatione, aliaque omni fide rerum, non possumus. *Ibid.*

Youth then must be particularly attentive to the proofs and reasons, in examining a discourse, harangue, or any other work ; and must separate them from all the outward splendor with which they otherwise might suffer themselves to be dazzled ; let them weigh and consider them ; let them examine if they are solid, fit for the subject, and disposed in their proper places. All the consequence and structure of the discourse must be truly represented to them ; and after it is explained to them, they should be able to give a reason for the author's design, and to declare upon every passage in the author, that here he would prove such a thing, and effects it by such reasons.

^c Amongst the proofs, some are strong and convincing, each of which we must insist upon, and demonstrate separately, to avoid their being obscured or blended with the cloud of other proofs. Others, on the contrary, are weaker, and must be assembled together, that they may mutually assist one another, by supplying the want of strength with their numbers. Quintilian gives us a very remarkable example of this. The question was about a man who was accused of killing one of his relations, in order to inherit his estate ; and here follow the proofs which were advanced on that occasion : *You were waiting for the inheritance, and a great inheritance : You were poor, and at that very time you were much importuned by creditors.*

^d These proofs, considered separately, are slight

^c Firmissimis argumentorum singulis instandum, infirmiora congreganda sunt : quia illa per se fortiora non oportet circumstantibus obscurare, ut qualia sunt appareant ; hæc imbecilla naturâ, mutuo auxilio sustinentur. Itaque si non pos-

sunt valere quia magna sunt, valebunt quia multa sunt. *Quintil. l. 5. c. 12.*

^d Singula levia sunt & communia, universa verò nocent, etiamsi non ut fulmine, tamen ut grandine. *Ibid.*

and

and common ; but being joined together, they strike us, not as the thunderbolt that strikes down every thing, but as hail which is felt when its strokes are redoubled.

We must avoid dwelling too much upon things that don't deserve it ; * for then our proofs, besides their being tiresome, become also suspicious, by the very care we take to accumulate too great a number of them, which intimates as though we ourselves were diffident of them.

f 'Tis a question whether we must place our best proofs in the beginning, in order to possess ourselves of peoples affections at once ; or at the end, in order to leave a stronger impression in the minds of the auditors ; or part in the beginning, and another at the end, according to the order of the battles we read of in Homer s ; or in a word, whether it is not best to begin w'th the weakest proofs, that we may strengthen them more and more in the progress of the oration. h Cicero seems to be of opinion in some passages, that we must begin and end with the most powerful and convincing proofs, and intersperse the weakest between both : but in his oratorical divisions, he i acknowledges we cannot always range our proofs as we would ; and that a sage and provident orator must, in that respect, consult the inclinations of his auditors, and regulate himself by their taste. Quintilian also observes, but without determining, that the arguments must vary

* Nec tamen omnibus semper quæ invenerimus argumentis onerandus est iudex : quia & tedium afferunt, & fidem detrahunt. *Ibid.*

f Quintil. l. 5. c. 12.

g Iliad. l. 4. v. 297.

h Cic. l. 2. de orat. n. 314,

&c. in orat. 350.

i Semperne ordinem collocandi, quem volumus, tenere possumus ? Non sanè. Nam auditorum aures moderantur oratori prudenti & provido, & quod respuunt immutandum est. *In Partition. Orat. n. 15.*

according

according to the exigency of the matters in question ; but so, as that the oration must never sink, or conclude with trifling or weak reasons, after we have employed strong ones in the beginning.

The union and harmony to be observed in the proofs, is not an indifferent affair ; these contribute very much to the perspicuity and ornament of the discourse. They depend upon the justness and delicacy of the transitions ^k, which are a kind of knot by which we unite the parts and propositions which often seem to have no relation to one another, but to be independent and foreign, as it were, to each other ; and which, without this union, would prejudice one another, and never quadrate together. The orator's art therefore consists in knowing by certain turns and thoughts, artfully introduced, to unite these different proofs so naturally, that they may seem designed for each other ; and that the whole may not form members and detached pieces, but an entire and compleat body.

M. Flechier had begun the elogium of M. de Turenne, with that of the antient and illustrious house of la Tour D'Auvergne, whose blood was mixed with that of Kings and Emperors ; gave lords to Aquitaine, Princesses to all the courts of Europe, and Queens even to France itself.

He speaks afterwards of that Prince's misfortune to be born in heresy. In order to join this part with the former, he uses a figure, called by the rhetoricians corrections, which furnishes him with a very natural transition. “ But what do I say ? We must not applaud him here on that

^k Ita res diversæ distantibus ex locis, quasi invicem ignotæ, non collidentur, sed aliqua societate cum prioribus ac sequentibus se copulaque tene-

bunt . . . Ita ut corpus sit, non membra . . . Ac videbitur non solum composita oratio, sed etiam continua. *Quintil. l. 7. c. ult.*

“score; we must rather complain of him. How
“glorious soever the stock might be from which
“he was descended, yet the heresy of the latter
“times have infected it.”

There is another observation still more important. ¹ It is not easy to find solid proofs; to range them in proper order, and to unite them well; we must know the method of displaying, and giving them a just extent, in order to make the auditors sensible of their weight and efficacy, and to deduce all possible advantages from them. This is generally called amplification, in which the force of eloquence and the orator's art chiefly consist, and wherein Cicero succeeded more than in any other part of oratory. I will confine myself to one example on this head, taken from his defence of Milo.

To the many proofs by which Cicero had shewn that Milo was far from premeditating the design of killing Clodius, he subjoins a reflection taken from the circumstance of the time; and he asks if it is probable that Milo, who was making interest for the consulship, would be so imprudent as to be guilty of a base and cowardly assassination, whereby he would lose the hearts of all the Roman people, and that almost at the time they were to meet, in order to dispose of the public employments. ^m *Præsertim, judices, cum honoris amplissimi contentio & dies comitiorum subesset.* This is a very just reflection; but if the orator had done nothing more than barely represent it, without the assistance of eloquence, it would not have very much affected the judges. But he improved and set off that circumstance of time in a surprizing manner, by demonstrating, that at such a juncture men are cir-

¹ Quædam argumenta ponere satis non est: adjuvanda sunt. *Quintil. l. 5. c. 12.*

^m For Milo, n. 42, 43.

cumspect and attentive to a nicety, in courting the favour and the voices of the people. “ I know, “ says Cicero, how great may be the bashfulness “ and modesty of those who make interest for “ employments, and what care and uneasiness attend such as sue for the consulship. On these “ occasions, we are not only afraid of known reproaches, but even of such as are secret and confined within people’s bosoms. The least report, “ the idlest and worst grounded story alarms and “ disorders us. We anxiously consult the eyes, “ the looks, and words of every body ; for nothing is so delicate, so frail, uncertain and variable as the inclinations of citizens with regard to all those who are candidates for publick posts and employments. They are not “ only offended at the lightest miscarriages, but “ are sometimes so capricious as to take an unreasonable dislike even to the most laudable “ actions. *Quo quidem tempore (scio enim quam timida sit ambitio, quantaque Et quam sollicita cupiditas consulatus) omnia, non modò quæ reprehendi palam, sed etiam quæ obscure cogitari possunt, timeamus : rumorem, fabulam fictam, falsam perhorrescimus : ora omnium atque oculos intuemur. Nihil enim est tam molle, tam tenerum, tam aut fragile aut flexibile, quàm voluntas erga nos sensusque civium, qui non modò improbitate irascuntur candidatorum, sed etiam in rectè factis sæpe fastidiunt.* Is it possible to give a more lively idea of the whimsical levity of the people on the one hand ; and, on the other, of the continual fears and inquietudes of those who court their suffrages ? He concludes his argument in a still more lively and moving manner, by interrogating whether there is the least probability that Milo, all whose thoughts had been so long employed on this great day of election, durst appear before so august an assembly as

thar

that of the people, his hands still reeking with Clodius's blood, and his face and countenance haughtily confessing his crimes. *Hunc diem igitur campi speratum atque exoptatum sibi proponens Milo, cruentis manibus scelus & facinus præ se ferens & confitens, ad illa angusta centuriarum auspicia veniebat? Quàm hoc non credibile in hoc! Quàm idem in Clodio non dubitandum, qui se, interfecto Milone, regnaturum putaret!*

It must be confessed that such passages as these convince, move, and transport the auditors. But we must take care not to carry them too far, and distrust a too lively imagination, which giving too much way to its own fallies, dwells very unseasonably upon things either foreign to the subject, or of little moment; or which insists too long even on things that scarce deserve attention. Cicero candidly acknowledges, that he had formerly fallen into this last error. "In his defence of Roscius, he makes long reflections upon the punishment of parricides, who were put alive into sacks, and thrown into the sea. "The audience were ravished with the beauty of that passage, and interrupted the orator by their plaudits. Indeed it is difficult to meet with any thing brighter. "But Cicero, whose taste and judgment were improved by long practice, and whose eloquence, as he himself observes, had acquired a kind of maturity by years; Cicero, I say, acknowledged after-

" For Rosc. Amer. 70, 71.

• Quantis illa clamoribus adolescentuli diximus de supplicio parricidarum! Cic. in Orat. n. 107.

" Cum ipsa oratio jam nostra canesceret, haberetque suam quandam maturitatem, & quasi senectutem. Brut. n. 8.

Quæ nequaquam satis deseruiſſe poſt aliquando ſentire cœpimus . . . ſunt enim omnia ſicut adolescentis, non tam re & maturitate, quàm ſpe & expectatione laudati. Orat. n. 107.

Illa pro Roscio juvenilis redundantia. Ibid. n. 108.

wards, that when this passage was so highly applauded, it was not so much on account of its just or real beauties, as from the expectation of those he seemed to promise in a more advanced age.

It is a very useful exercise to youth, as I before observed, towards making invention easy to them; to propose a subject already treated of by some good author, and to make them find arguments immediately, by interrogating them *vivâ voce*, and by assisting them with leading or introductory hints.

S. Roscius, whose defence Cicero undertook, was charged with killing his father, and the accuser brought no proof against him. If we ask boys what they can say against the accuser, they will reply, no doubt, that in order to give some air of probability to an accusation of that kind, there must be a great number of proofs, which must likewise be very convincing and indisputable. We ought to shew the advantage that would redound to the son by the father's death; the irregularities and disorders of his former conduct, to prepare us to believe he might be guilty of so great a crime; and when all this was demonstrated, then, in order to bring proofs of so incredible an act, we must remark the place, the time, the witnesses, and accomplices, without which, we cannot believe a son guilty of so black a crime, which supposes a man to be a monster that has extinguished all the sensations of nature. We must first have related to them the story of the two children that were found asleep by their father who had been killed, and were acquitted by the judge, he being persuaded of their innocence, because of the easy frame of mind in which they were found: and youth will not fail to make a proper use of the story in this place. Fabulous history will come to their assistance, by giving them examples of

of children who having imbrued their hands in the blood of their mothers, and were delivered by the Gods to the revenging furies. In fine, the nature of the punishment established by the Romans against parricides, by displaying the enormity of the crime, will also sufficiently shew the necessity an accuser has to bring very evident and certain proofs. Youth will, of themselves, find out some of these arguments; and proper interrogations will lead them to the rest. After this, they ought to read the very passage in Cicero, which will teach them the method of treating every particular proof.

Cicero's orations, and Livy's speeches furnish us with a great number of such examples. I have made choice of a very short, but very eloquent speech out of the latter, which alone will shew youth the method of perusing authors, and how to compose.

Explication of a speech in Livy.

¶ Let us suppose the speech of Pacuvius to his son Perolla is given to a youth for a theme. Here follows the subject of it. The city of Capua was surrendered to Hannibal, (who immediately made his entry into it) by the intrigues of Pacuvius, and in spite of all the opposition of Magius, who continued steady to the Romans, and was united with Perolla both in friendship and sentiments. The day upon which Hannibal entered the city was spent in rejoicing and feasting. Two brothers, who were the most considerable persons in the place, gave Hannibal a grand entertainment. None of the Capuans were admitted to it but Taurea and Pacuvius, and the latter with great

¶ T. Liv. l. 23. n. 9.

difficulty obtained the same favour for his son Perolla, whose friendship with Magius was known to Hannibal, who was willing however to pardon him for what was passed, upon the intercession of his father. After the feast was over, Perolla led his father to a by place, and drawing a poinard from under his gown, he told him the design he had formed to kill Hannibal, and to seal the treaty made with the Romans with his blood. Upon this Pacuvius was distracted, and endeavoured to divert his son from so fatal a resolution. This discourse so circumstantiated must be very short, and consist of no more than twelve or fifteen lines at most.

The father must begin with searching for motives in himself to convince and affect his son. There occur three which are natural enough. The first is drawn from the danger to which he exposes himself by attacking Hannibal amidst his guards. The second relates to the father himself, who is resolved to stand between Hannibal and his son, and consequently that the first must be run through. The third reason is brought from the most sacred obligations of religion, the faith of treaties, hospitality and gratitude. The first step to be taken in the composition, is to find proofs and arguments, which in rhetoric is called *Invention*, and is the first branch.

After we have found arguments, we deliberate about the order of ranging them, which requires in so short a discourse as this, that the argument should grow more powerful as the discourse goes on, and that such as are most efficacious should be applied in the conclusion. Religion, generally speaking, is not that which most affects a young man of a character and disposition like to him we are now discoursing of; we must therefore begin with it. His own interest, and the danger to which

which he would expose himself, touch him much more sensibly. That motive must hold the second place. The respect and tenderness for a father whom he must slay before he can come at Hannibal, surpasses imagination; which for that reason must conclude the discourse. This ranging of the arguments is called *disposition* in rhetoric, and is the second part.

There remains *elocution*, which furnishes expressions and turns, and which by the variety and vivacity of the figures contributes most to the beauty and strength of a speech. Let us now see how Livy treats each part.

The preamble which holds the place of the exordium, is short, but lively and moving. *Per ego te, fili, quæcumque jura liberos jungunt parentibus, præcor quæsoque, ne ante oculos patris facere & pati omnia infanda velis.* This confused disposition, *per ego te*, is very suitable to the concern and trouble of a distracted father: *amens metu*, says Livy. Those words, *quæcumque jura liberos jungunt parentibus*, comprehend the strongest and tenderest sensation. That proposition, *ne ante oculos patris facere & pati omnia infanda velis*, which represents the crime and fatal consequences of such a murder, is, as it were, the epitome of the whole speech. He might have said barely, *ne occidere Annibalem in conspectu meo velis*. But what a difference there is between the one and the other!

I. Motive, drawn from religion. This is subdivided into three others, which are little more than barely shewn, but in a lively and eloquent manner, without omitting one circumstance or word capable of striking. 1. The faith of treaties

¹ I pray and conjure you, my son, by all the most sacred laws of nature and blood, not to attempt before your father's eyes an action as criminal in itself, as it will be fatal to you by its consequence.

confirmed by oaths and sacrifices. 2. The sacred and inviolable laws of hospitality. 3. The authority of a father over a son. *‘ Paucae horae sunt, intra quas jurantes quicquid deorum est, dextrae dextras jungentes, fidem obstrinximus, ut sacratas fide manus digressi ab colloquio extemplò in eum armaremus? Surgis ab hospitali mensa, ad quam tertius Campanorum adhibitus ab Annibale es, ut eam ipsam mensam cruentares hospitis sanguine? Annibalem pater filio meo potui placare: filium Annibali non possum?’*

II. Motive. *‘ Sed sit nihil sancti; non fides, non religio, non pietas: audeantur infanda, si non perniciem nobis cum scelere afferunt.* This is no more than a transition; but how finely is it embellished! What justness and elegance in the distribution which resumes in three words the three parts of the first motive! *faith*, for the treaty; *religion*, for the hospitality; *piety*, for the respect which a son owes to a father. *Audeantur infanda, si non perniciem nobis cum scelere afferunt.* This is a very beautiful thought, and leads us naturally from the first motive to the second.

‘ It is but a few minutes since we bound ourselves by the most solemn oaths; that we gave Hannibal the most holy testimonies of an inviolable friendship: And shall we, when we are scarce risen from the entertainment, arm that very hand against him, which we presented to him as a pledge of our fidelity? That table, where the Gods preside who maintain the laws of hospitality, to which you were admitted by a particular favour, of which only two companions had a share; you

leave that sacred table with no other view but to defile it the next moment with the blood of your inviter? Alas! after I obtained my son’s pardon from Hannibal, is it possible that I cannot prevail with my son to pardon Hannibal?’

‘ But let us have no regard for those things which are most sacred among men; let us violate at one and the same time, faith, religion, and piety; let us perpetrate the blackest action, provided our destruction be not infallibly involved in our crime.

" *Unus aggressurus es Annibalem? Quid illa turba tot liberorum servorumque? Quid in unum intenti omnium oculi? Quid tot dextræ? Torpescenne in amentia illa? Vultum ipsius Annibalis, quem armati exercitus sustinere nequeunt, quem horret populus Romanus, tu sustinebis?* What a multitude of thoughts, figures and images! and this only to declare, that Perolla could not attack Hannibal without exposing himself to inevitable death. How admirable is the opposition between whole armies which cannot bear the sight of Hannibal, the Roman people themselves who tremble at his looks, and a weak private man! *tu, (thou.)*

III. Motive. " *Et, alia auxilia defint, me ipsum ferire, corpus meum opponentem pro corpore Annibalis sustinebis? Atqui per meum pectus petendus ille tibi transfigendusque est.*

I admire the simplicity and brevity of this last motive as much as the vivacity of the precedent one. A youth would be tempted to add some thoughts in this place, and to expatiate on the passage? Can you imbrue your hands in the blood of your father? Tear life from him from whom you had yours? &c. But so great a master as Livy is well apprized, that nothing is wanting but only to hint at such a motive, and that to amplify would only weaken it.

" *Do you alone pretend to attack Hannibal? But to what end! Do you imagine that the multitude of freemen and slaves who surround him; all those eyes that are constantly fixed upon him, in order to secure him from danger; or that so many hands always ready to defend him, would be frozen, and, as it were, immoveable, the moment you make this mad attempt? Will you be able to bear even*

the looks of Hannibal; those formidable looks, which whole armies cannot bear, and which make the Romans themselves tremble?

" *And suppose he were deprived of all other assistance, will you have the boldness to strike me too, when I protect him with my body, and place myself between him and your thrusts? For I declare, that you cannot come at him, without stabbing me.*

The

The Peroration. * *Deterreri hic sine te potius, quàm illic vinci. Valeant preces apud te meæ, sicut pro te bodiè valuerunt.* Pacuvius had hitherto employed the most lively and moving figures. Every thing is full of spirit and fire; no doubt but his eyes, his countenance and hands, were more eloquent than his tongue. But he is softened on a sudden: he assumes a more sedate tone, and concludes with entreaties, which, from a father, are more powerful than any arguments that can be brought. Accordingly, the son cannot hold out against this last attack. The tears which began to fall down his cheeks, demonstrated his confusion. The kisses of a father, who embraced him tenderly a long time, and his repeated and urgent entreaties, brought him at last to compliance. *Lacrymantem inde juvenem cernens, medium complectitur, atque osculo hærens, non antè precibus abstinit, quàm pervicit ut gladium poneret, fidemque daret nihil facturum tale.*

ARTICLE the SECOND.

Of Thoughts.

THOUGHT is a very vague and general word, having many different significations like the Latin word *sententia*. It is evident enough that the thoughts we are examining in this place are those which are introduced into works of genius, and are one of their chief beauties.

This properly forms the foundation and body of a discourse^y; for elocution is only the cloathing

* *Soften your resentments, my efficacious this day in your favour, this very instant; and don't resolve to perish in so ill-concerted an enterprize. Let my intreaties have some influence over you, since they have been so*

^y *Quorundam elocutio res ipsas effaminat, quæ illo verborum habitu vestiuntur. Quint. Præm. l. 8.*

and drefs. We must then inculcate this grand principle into young people very early, which is so often repeated by Cicero and Quintilian, ^z viz. that words are made only for things; that they are intended for no other end but to display, or at most to embellish our thoughts; ^a that the choicest and brightest expressions, uninformed with good sense, must be looked upon as an empty and contemptible sound, altogether ridiculous and foolish. That on the contrary, we must esteem solid thoughts and reasons though unadorned, because truth alone ever deserves esteem, in what manner soever it be represented; in fine, ^b that an orator may bestow some care upon words, but must apply his chief attention to things.

We must likewise make youth observe, that the thoughts with which good authors embellish their discourses, are plain, natural and intelligible; that they are neither affected nor far-fetched, and, as it were, forced in, in order to make a parade of wit; but that they always rise out of the subject to be treated of, from which they seem so inseparable, that we cannot think the things could have been otherwise expressed, at the same time that every one imagines he would express them the same way. But these observations will be more obvious by examples.

^z Sit cura elocutionis quàm maxima, dum sciamus tamen nihil verborum causa esse faciendum, cum verba ipsa rerum gratiâ sint reperta. *Quint. Proœm. l. 8.*

Quibus (verbis) solum à natura sit officium attributum, servire sensibus. *Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.*

^a Quid est tam furiosum quàm verborum vel optimorum atque ornatissimorum sonitus inanis, nulla subiecta sententia nec scientia. 1. *de Orat. n. 51.*

^b Curam ergo verborum, rerum volo esse sollicitudinem. *Quint. l. Proœm. l. 8.*

The combat of the Horatii and the Curiatii.

The description of this combat is, certainly, one of the most beautiful passages in ^c Livy, and the most proper to teach youth how to embellish a narration by natural and ingenious thoughts. In order to know the art and delicacy required for effecting it, we need only reduce it to a plain relation, by divesting it of all its ornaments, without however omitting any essential circumstance. I will mark the different parts by different figures, in order the better to distinguish, and compare them afterwards, with the narrative itself as we find it in Livy.

1. *Fœdere iſto trigemini, ſicut convenerat, arma capiunt.*
2. *Statim in medium inter duas acies procedunt.*
3. *Confederant utrinque pro caſtris duo exercitus, in hoc ſpectaculum totis animis intenti.*
4. *Datur ſignum, infeſtiſque armis terni juvenes concurrunt.*
5. *Cùm aliquandiu inter ſe æquis viribus pugnaffent; duo Romani, ſuper alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, expirantes corruerunt.*
6. *Illi ſuperſtitem Romanum circumſiſtunt. Fortè is integer fuit. Ergo, ut ſegregaret pugnam eorum, capeſſit fugam, ita ratus ſecuturos, ut quemque vulnere affectum corpus ſineret.*
7. *Jam aliquantum ſpatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum eſt, auſugerat, cùm reſpiciens videt magnis intervallis ſequentes: unum haud procul ab ſeſe abeſſe; in eum magno impetu redit, eumque interficit.*
8. *Mox properat ad ſecundum, eumque pariter neci dat.*

^c Lib. 1.

9. *Jam*

9. *Jam æquato Marte singuli supererant, numero pares, sed longè viribus diversi.*
10. *Romanus exultans, Duos, inquit, fratrum manibus dedi, tertium causæ belli hujusce ut Romanis Albano imperet, dabo. Tum gladium superne illius jugulo defigit : jacentem spoliat.*
11. *Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt.*
12. *Inde ex utraque parte suos sepeliunt.*

The business is to enlarge upon this narrative, and to enrich it with thoughts and images which may engage and strike the reader in a lively manner, and represent this action to him, so as that he imagines he does not read, but see it, in which the greatest power of eloquence consists. To effect this, we need only consult nature, by carefully studying the emotions, and examining attentively the sensations and agitations which must have affected the hearts of the Horatii and Curiatii, of the Romans and Albani ; and to paint every circumstance in such lively, and at the same time such natural colours, that we imagine we are spectators of the combat. This Livy performs in a surprising manner.

^d 1. *Fœdere icto trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma capiunt.*

^e 2. *Cùm sui utrosque adhortarentur, Deos patrios, patriam, ac parentes, quicquid civium domi, quicquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus ; feroces & suopte ingenio, & pleni adhor-*

^d 1. The treaty being concluded, the three brothers on each side take arms according to agreement.

^e 2. While each party are exhorting their respective champions to do their duty, by representing that their Gods, their country, their fathers and mothers ; the several in-

dividuals of the city, and of the army fix their eyes on their weapons, and on their hands ; those generous combatants, brave enough of themselves, and still more invigorated by such pressing exhortations, advance between the two armies.

tantium

tantum vocibus, in medium inter duas acies procedunt.

It was natural for each party to exhort their own champions, and represent to them, that all their countrymen had their eyes upon their combat. This is a fine thought, but it is very much improved by the manner of turning it: an exhortation more at length would be cold and languid. In reading the last words, we imagine we see those brave combatants advancing between the two armies with a noble, intrepid haughtiness.

3. *Confederant utrinque pro castris duo exercitus, periculi magis præsentis quam curæ expertes: quippe imperium agebatur, in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animo intenduntur.*

Nothing was more suitable here than this thought, *periculi magis præsentis quam curæ expertes*; and Livy immediately assigns the reason of it. What image do these two words, *erecti suspensique* paint in our minds!

4. *Datur signum, infestisque armis, velut acies, terni juvenes, magnorum exercituum animos gerentes,*

3. They were ranged on both sides round the field of battle, being more uneasy on account of the consequences that this would be to the state, than of the danger to which they themselves were exposed, because the combat was to determine which of the two nations should govern the other; and so being agitated with these reflections, and solicitous about the event, they gave their whole attention to a fight which could not but alarm them.

4. The signal is given, and those brave heroes march three and three against each other, they themselves being inspired

with the courage of two great armies. Both sides being insensible of their own danger, have nothing before their eyes, but the slavery or liberty of their country, whose future destiny depends wholly upon their courage. The moment the clashing of their weapons is heard, and the glitter of their swords is observed, the spectators seized with fear and alarm, (while hope of success did not yet incline to either side) continued motionless, so that one would have said, they had lost the use of their speech, and had no breath left.

concurrunt.

concurrunt. Nec his, nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo, futuraque ea deinde patriæ fortuna quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo statim concursu increpuere arma, micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit; Et neutro inclinata spe, torpebat vox spiritusque.

Nothing can be added to the noble idea which Livy gives us of these combatants in this place. The three brothers were on each side like whole armies, and had the courage of armies; insensible of their own danger, they thought of nothing but the fate of the publick, which was committed entirely to their personal courage. Two noble thoughts, and grounded upon truth! But can any one read what follows, and not be seized with horror and a shivering, no less than the spectators of the fight? The expressions are all poetical in this place, and youth must be told, that these expressions, which are to be used seldom and very sparingly, were required, because of the grandeur of the subject, and the necessity there was to describe so glorious a combat with a suitable pomp of words.

The mournful silence which kept both sides in a kind of pause or suspense, and, as it were, immoveable, turned immediately into acclamations of joy, on the side of the Albani, when they saw two of the Horatii killed. The Romans, on the other hand, were without hopes, but not free from uneasiness, being alarmed and trembling for the surviving Horatius who was to combat three antagonists, they now considered only the danger he was in. Was not this the true disposition of both armies, after the fall of the two Horatii; and is not the picture which Livy has given us of it, very natural?

5. ^b *Conferitis deinde manibus, cum jam non motus tantum corporum, agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque, sed vulnera quoque & sanguis spectaculo essent; duo Romani super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, expirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones jam spes tota, nondum tamen cura deseruerat, exanimis vice unius quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant.*

I will give the remainder of this quotation with little or no reflection, to avoid tediousness. I must only advertise the reader, that the chief beauty of this relation, as well as of history in general, according to Cicero's judicious remark, consists in the surprizing variety which runs through the whole, and the different emotions of fear, anxiety, hope, joy, despair, and grief created by the sudden alterations, and unexpected vicissitudes, which rouse the attention by an agreeable surprize, and keep the reader in a kind of suspense, and give him incredible pleasure even from that uncertainty, especially where the narration concludes with an effecting and singular event. It will be easy to apply these principles to every thing that follows.

^b 5. *Afterwards when they began to engage, not only the motion of their hands, and the brandishing of their weapons drew the eyes of the spectators; but the wounds, the blood running down, two Romans falling dead at the feet of the Albani, who were all wounded. Upon their falling, the Alban army shouted aloud, whilst the Roman legions remained without hopes, but not without uneasiness, trembling for the surviving Roman, who was surrounded by the three Albani.*

ⁱ Multum casus nostri tibi

varietatem in scribendo suppediabant, plenam cujusdam voluptatis, quæ vehementer animos hominum in legendo scripto retinere possit: nihil est enim aptius ad delectationem lectoris, quam temporum varietates fortunæque vicissitudines. . . . Ancipites varique casus habent admirationem, lætitiā, molestiam, spem, timorem. Si verò exitu notabili concluduntur, expletur animus jucundissimæ lectionis voluptate. Cic. Ep. 12. l. 5. ad famil.

* 6. Fortè is integer fuit ; ut universis solus nequam par, sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo, ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capeffit fugam, ita ratus secuturos, ut quemque vulnere affectum corpus sineret.

¹ 7. Jam aliquantum spaci ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum est, aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes : unum haud procul ab sese abesse. In eum magno impetu redit. Et, dum Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatii ut opem ferant fratri, jam Horatius cæso hoste victor secundam pugnam petebat.

^m 8. Tum clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet, Romani adjuvant militem suum : Et ille defungi prælio festinat. Prius itaque quàm alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi posset, Et alterum Curiatium conficit.

ⁿ 9. Jamque æquato Marte singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares. Alterum intactum

VOL. II.

I

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* 6. Happily, he was not wounded: thus being too weak against three, though superior to any one of them in strength, he had recourse to a stratagem, in which he succeeded. In order to divide his adversaries, he fled, being persuaded they would follow him with more or less expedition, as their strength, after so much loss of blood, would permit them to do.

¹ 7. Having fled a pretty good way from the spot where they had fought, he looked back and saw the Curiatii at a considerable distance from one another, and one of them very near ; upon which he turned upon him with all his strength, and, while the Alban army were crying out to his brothers to suc-

cour him, Horatius, who had already slain the first enemy, runs to a second victory.

^m 8. Then the Romans encourage their champion by great shouts, such as generally proceed from unexpected joy ; and he, on the other hand, hastens to put an end to the second combat, and in this manner, before the other combatant, who was not far off, could come up to assist his brother, he killed him.

ⁿ 9. There remained now but one combatant on each side ; but though the combatants were equal in number, they were otherwise in strength and hopes. The Roman, who had not received any hurt ; and fired by gaining a double victory, advances with great confidence to this third combat.

ferro corpus, & geminata victoria, ferocem in certamen tertium dabant : alter, fessum vulnere, fessum cursu trahens corpus, victusque fratrum ante se strage, victori objicitur hosti. Nec illud prælium fuit.

How beautiful are the thoughts and expressions !
How lively the images and descriptions !

° 10. *Romanus exultans, Duos, inquit, fratrum manibus dedi : tertium causæ belli hujusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo. Malè sustinenti arma, gladium supernè jugulo desigit : jacentem spoliât.*

P 11. *Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt, eo majore cum gaudio, quo propius metum res fuerat.*

° 12. *Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur ; quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri ditionis alienæ facti.*

I believe nothing is more capable of forming the taste of young people, both for reading authors and composition, than to propose such passages as these to them ; and to habituate them to discover their beauties without any assistance, by stripping them of all their embellishments, and

bat. His antagonist, on the other hand, being weakened by loss of blood, and spent with running so far, can scarce drag his legs after him ; and being already vanquished by the death of his brothers, presents his throat to his conqueror, like a defenceless victim ; and indeed this was no combat.

° 10. *Horatius now triumphs, and says, I have sacrificed the two first to the manes of my brothers ; I will now sacrifice the third to my country, that Rome may subdue Alba, and*

give laws to it. Curatius being scarce able to carry his arms, the other thrusts his sword into his breast, and afterwards strips him.

P 11. *The Romans receive Horatius in their camp with a joy and acknowledgment proportioned to the danger they have escaped.*

° 12. *After this, each party set about burying their respective dead, but with sensations widely different ; the Romans being now victorious over their enemies, and the Albans subjected to a foreign yoke.*

reducing

reducing them to plain propositions, as we have done here. We shall teach them, by this method, how to find out and express thoughts.

I'll add several reflections from father Bouhours, most of them accompanied with examples from Latin and French authors, and taken from his *Maniere de bien penser*, &c.

Different reflections upon thoughts.

I. Truth is the first quality, and as the foundation of thoughts. The most beautiful ones are vicious ; or rather, those which pass for beautiful, are not really so, unless thus founded. *p. 9.*

Thoughts are the images of things, as words are the images of thoughts ; and to think, generally speaking, is to form in one's self the picture of a witty or sensible object. Now images and pictures are not true, but as they resemble their objects. Thus a thought is true, when it represents things faithfully ; and false, when it represents them otherwise than as they are in themselves. *ibid.*

Truth, which is indivisible in other respects, is not so in this case. Thoughts are more or less true, as they are more or less conformable to their object. Entire conformity forms what we call the justness of a thought ; that is, as clothes fit, when they fit well on the body, and are compleatly proportioned to the person who wears them ; so thoughts are just when they suit perfectly the things they represent : so that a just thought, to speak properly, is a thought true on every side, and in every light we view it. *p. 41.*

We have a beautiful example of this in the Latin epigram upon Dido, which has been so happily translated into the French language. For the better understanding it, we must suppose what history re-

lates of this matter ; viz. that Dido fled to Africa with all her wealth, after Sicheus had been killed ; and also what poesy feigns, viz. that she killed herself after Æneas had left her.

* Infelix Dido, nulli bene nupta marito :
Hoc pereunte, fugis ; hoc fugiente, peris.

Pauvre Didon, où t'a ' réduite
De tes maris le triste sort ?
L'un, en mourant, cause ta fuite :
L'autre, en fuyant, cause ta mort.

We must not however imagine that this just play of words is any way essential to justness, which does not always require so much symmetry, or so great a play of the words. It is enough for the thought to be true in its full extent, and that nothing be false in it, in whatever light we examine it. p. 41, 42.

Plutarch, who was a man of solid understanding, condemns the celebrated thought of an historian upon the burning of the temple of Ephesus : *That it was no wonder this magnificent temple, dedicated to Diana, should be burnt the very night Alexander was born ; because, as the Goddess would assist at Olympia's delivery, she therefore was so very busy, that she could not extinguish the fire.* 'Tis surprising that Cicero looked upon this as a pretty thought ; he who always thinks and judges right. But it is still more surprising that so austere a judge as Plutarch had so far forgot his severity,

* Aufon.

On a remarqué ici une faute contre la langue, qui demande réduit au masculin, parce que le nominatif est après le verbe.

* Concinne, ut multa ; Timæus, qui cum in historia dix-

isset, qua nocte natus Alexander esset, eadem Dianæ Ephesiæ templum desagravisse : adjunxit, minime id esse mirandum, quod Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adesse voluisset, abfuisset domo. *De nat. Deor. l. 2. n. 69.*

as to add, that the historian's reflection was cold enough to extinguish the fire. p. 49, 50.

Quintilian laughs very justly at certain orators, who imagined there was something very beautiful in saying, *that great rivers were navigable at their springs, and that good trees bore fruit at their first shooting out of the ground.* [^u These comparisons may dazzle at first, and were very much cried up in Quintilian's time; but when we examine them narrowly, we find them false.] p. 72.

II. To think justly, it is not enough that the thoughts have nothing false in them, for they sometimes become trivial by being true; and when Cicero applauds Crassus on this subject of thoughts, after saying that his were so just and true, he adds, they are so new and so uncommon: "*Sententiæ Crassi tam integræ, tam veræ, tam novæ. Viz.* that besides truth, which always satisfies the mind, something more is wanting to strike and surprise it Truth is to a thought, what foundations are to buildings; it supports and gives it solidity: but a building which had nothing to recommend it but solidity, would not please those who are skilled in architecture. Besides solidity, in well-built houses, magnificence, beauty, and even delicacy are required: and this I would have in the thoughts we are now speaking of. Truth, which pleases so much on other occasions without any embellishment, requires it here; and this ornament is sometimes nothing but a new turn which is given to things. Examples will shew the reader my meaning.

^u Quorum utrumque in iis est, quæ me juvene ubique cantari solebant: Magnorum fluminum navigabiles fontes sunt:

&, generosioris arboris statim planta cum fructu est. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 3.

^w De Orat. l. 2. n. 188.

Death spares none. This is a very true thought, but it is very plain and common. In order to raise it, and make it new in some respect, we need only turn it as Horace and Malherbe did. The former turned it thus, as is well known.

Pallida mors equo pede pulsat pauperum tabernas,

Regumque turre. *Carm. lib. 1. od. 4.*

“Death overthrows equally the palaces of Kings,
“and the huts of the poor.

The second has a different turn.

Le pauvre en sa cabane où le chaume le couvre
Est sujet à ses loix,
Et la garde qui veille aux barrières du Louvre
N'en défend pas nos Rois.

The turn of the Latin poet is more figurative and lively; that of the French poet more natural and delicate. There's something noble in both, *p. 75, 78, 79.*

1. [That which chiefly heightens a discourse] are ¹ elevated thoughts, which represent nothing but what is great to the mind. It is the sublimity and grandeur of a thought which properly transports and ravishes us, provided it be conformable to the subject. For it is a general rule, that we must think suitably to the subject; and nothing is more unreasonable ² than to introduce sublime thoughts in a mean subject, when indifferent ones suit it. It were almost better to introduce indifferent thoughts in a great subject, which required sublime ones, *p. 80.*

¹ Non ad persuasionem, sed ad stuporem rapiunt grandia. *Long. de sublim. sect. 1.*

² A sermone tenui sublime discordat, fitque corruptum, quia in plano tumet. *Q. 1. 8. c. 3.*

^a *Fortune has given you nothing greater, than the power of preserving the lives of such multitudes; nor nature any thing better than the will to effect it.* Thus the Roman orator speaks to Cæsar; and an historian speaks of the latter in the following words. ^b *He owed his grandeur to himself only; and his great genius prevented the conquered nations from having the same advantage over the Romans by genius and understanding, which the Romans had over them by valour.* But Seneca the elder says something nobler and greater on this occasion, ^c *That Cicero's understanding alone was equal to the Roman empire,* p. 83, 84.

Cicero speaks very nobly of Cæsar, ^d by saying there was no occasion to oppose the Alps against the Gauls, nor the Rhine against the Germans; that though the highest mountains should be levelled, and the deepest rivers dried up, Italy would have nothing to fear; and that the brave actions and victories of Cæsar would defend it much better than the ramparts with which nature has fortified it, p. 87.

Pompey having conquered Tigranes King of Armenia, would not suffer him to continue long at his feet, but put the crown again upon his head. ^e *He restored him to his former condition,* says an hi-

^a Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus, quàm ut possis, nec natura tua melius quàm ut velis conservare quàm plurimos. *Orat. pro Lig. n. 38.*

^b Omnia incrementa sua sibi debuit: vir ingenio maximus, qui effecit ne, quorum arma viceramus, eorum ingenio vinceremur. *Vell. Paterc. lib. 1.*

^c Illud ingenium, quod solum populus Romanus par imperio

suo habuit. *Contror. lib. 1.*

^d Perfecit ille, ut, si montes resedissent, amnes exaruisent, non naturæ præsidio, sed victoria sua rebusque gestis Italiam munitam haberemus. *Contra Pis. n. 62.*

^e In pristinum fortunæ habitum restituit: æquè pulchrum esse judicans, & vincere reges, & facere. *Val. Max. lib. 5. c. 1.*

storian, *thinking there was as much glory to make, as to conquer Kings*, p. 88.

The funeral oration of Henrietta of France, Queen of England, and that of Henrietta Anne of England, Duchess of Orleans (by M. Bossuet) are full of those thoughts which Herimogenes calls majestic.

“ Her great soul was superior to her birth ;
 “ any other place but a throne had been unworthy
 “ of her.

“ Gentle, familiar, and agreeable, as well as
 “ firm and courageous, she knew equally how to
 “ persuade and convince, as to command ; and make
 “ reason no less prevalent than authority.

“ Notwithstanding the ill success of his arms
 “ (speaking of King Charles I.) though he was
 “ vanquished, his mind still triumphed ; and as
 “ he never refused any thing just and reasonable
 “ when a conqueror, he always rejected all inglorious and unjust terms when a prisoner, p. 105.

Thoughts of this kind carry their own conviction along with them, lead our judgment, as it were, by force, move our passions, and fire our souls.

2. This is then a first species of thoughts which not only gain belief, as being true, but excite admiration, as being new and extraordinary. Those of the second species are the agreeable, which surprize and strike us sometimes as much as the noble and the sublime ; but effect by their beauty, what the others do by grandeur and sublimity. Sublime thoughts are likewise agreeable, but it is not their agreeableness that forms their character. They please, because they have something great, which always charms the mind ; whereas the others please only because they are agreeable. What is charming in them, is like the soft, tender and graceful touches we observe in

in some paintings. It is partly that *soft and facetious* which ^f Horace attributes to Virgil, and does not consist in what we call humorous, but in some inexpressible grace, which cannot be defined in general, and of which there is more than one kind, *p.* 131, 132.

Comparisons taken from florid and delightful subjects form agreeable thoughts, in like manner as those we draw from grand subjects form noble ones. "I think, says Costar, it is a great advantage for a person to be virtuous, without any trouble to himself; and that it is like a gentle rivulet which following its own natural course, runs without any lett or obstacle between two flowery banks. Methinks, on the contrary, those who are good from reflection, who perform sometimes more virtuous actions than others, are like those jets d'eau where art does violence to nature; and which are sometimes stopped by the least obstacle, after having spouted their waters to the skies.

'Tis likewise a pretty thought, to speak of a little river, as Balsac did. "This beautiful water is so fond of these meadows, that it divides itself into a thousand branches, and forms an infinite number of islands and turnings, to sport itself the more, *p.* 137, 138.

Ingenious fictions produce as agreeable effects in prose as in verse. They are so many diverting spectacles to the mind, which always please persons of penetration and judgment. When Pliny the younger exhorted Cornelius Tacitus to follow his example in studies, even when he was hunting, he told him, that the exercise of the body awakens

^f Satyr. 10. lib. 1.

^g Mirum est ut animus agitatione motuque corporis exci-

tetur. Jam undique sylvar, & solitudo, ipsumque illud silentium quod venationi datur, magna

awakens the mind; that woods, solitude and even the silence of some sports, contribute very much to our thinking justly of things; in fine, that if he carried a little pocket book with him, he would see that Minerva was as much pleased with forests and mountains as Diana. Here is a little fiction in a very few words. Pliny had said before^h, that being at a hunting match, where they took three wild boars in toils, he sat down near the toils, with his pocket book in his hand, writing down any happy thought which occurred to his mind, in order, that if he should chance to return home with empty hands, yet his pocket book might be full. This is a pretty thought; but there is more beauty in his imagining that Minerva is mistress of the woods as well as Diana, and that she is met with in valleys and mountains, *p.* 139, 140.

Agreeableness arises generally from opposition; especially in thoughts which have two meanings, and, as it were, two faces; for that figure which seems to deny what it establishes, and contradicts itself in outward appearance, is vastly elegant. Sophocles says, the presents of an enemy are not presents, and that a cruel mother is not a mother.ⁱ And Seneca tells us, a great fortune is great slavery; Tacitus,^k that we are sometimes guilty of the basest and most servile actions for the sake of reigning.^l Horace speaks of a sage folly, of an

magna cogitationis incitamenta sunt . . . Experieris non Dianam magis in montibus quam Minervam inerrare. *Lib. 1. ep. 6.*

^h Ad retia sedebam: erant in proximo non venabulum aut lancea, sed stylius & pugillares. Meditabar aliquid, enotabamque, ut, si manus vacuas, ple-

nas tamen ceras reportarem. *Ibid.*

ⁱ Magna servitus est magna fortuna. *De Consol. ad Polyb.*

^k Omnia serviliter pro dominatione. *Hist. lib. 1.*

^l Infanientis dum sapientiæ consultus erro . . . Strenua nos exercet inertio . . . Rerum concordia discors. *Horat.*

active

active sloth, and of a jarring concord. Some one said, Kings were slaves upon the throne; that the body and soul are two enemies who cannot part with each other, and two friends who cannot bear each other. According to Voiture, the secret to be healthy and gay, consists in the exercise of the body, and the tranquillity of the mind. The same author says, speaking of a person of quality who was a prodigious genius and his friend; I am never so haughty as when I receive his letters, nor so humble as when I am going to answer them. p. 146.

However, we must not fancy that a thought cannot be agreeable or beautiful, unless it sparkles and consists of a play of words; simplicity alone sometimes forms all its beauty. This simplicity consists in a plain and ingenuous, but witty and rational kind of air, such as is observed sometimes in a peasant of good sense, or in a witty child. p. 150.

3. There is a third species of thoughts, which have agreeableness mixed with delicacy; or rather, whose whole agreeableness, beauty, and merit, are owing to their delicacy. We may say, a delicate thought is the most exquisite production, and as it were the quintessence of the understanding. We must, in my opinion, argue upon the delicacy of the thoughts which are introduced in works of genius, with relation to that of natural ones. ^m The most delicate are those which nature delights to work in miniature, and whose matter being almost imperceptible, acts in such a manner, that it is doubted whether she intends to discover or conceal her art. Such is a perfect insect, and so

^m *Rerum natura nusquam magis, quam in minimis tota.*
Plin. l. 11. c. 3.

In arctum coacta rerum na-

turæ majestas, multis nulla sui parte mirabilior. Idem. l. 37.
Proem.

much the more worthy of admiration, as it is less visible, according to Pliny. p. 158, 160.

Let us say, by way of analogy, that a delicate thought has this property, viz. to be comprized in a few words; and that its sense is not so visible or conspicuous. ⁿ One would at first sight imagine, that she partly conceals it, purposely that we may search after, and guess at it; or at least, that she only presents a glimpse of it, to give us the pleasure of discovering it entirely, if we are persons of genius: for as we must have good eyes, and employ even those of art, I mean telescopes and microscopes, to behold the master-pieces of nature; the intelligent and clear-sighted only are capable of discovering the whole force and sense of a fine thought. This little mystery is, as it were, the soul of the delicacy of thoughts; so that those which have nothing mysterious either in their foundation or turn, and discover themselves entirely at first sight, are not properly delicate, how witty soever they may be in other respects. Whence we may conclude, that delicacy adds something inexpressible to the sublime, and to the agreeable or beautiful, which will appear more clearly by examples. p. 160, 161.

Pliny the panegyrist tells his Monarch, who had long refused the title of father of his country, and would not receive it till he thought he had deserved it; *° You are the only man who has been the father of his country, before you were really so.* p. 162.

The river which made Egypt so fruitful, by its regular inundations, having missed overflowing for

ⁿ Auditoribus grata sunt hæc, quæ cum intellexerint, acumine suo delectantur, & gaudent, non quasi audiverint, sed quasi

invenerint. *Quintil. l. 8. c. 2.*

^o Soli omnium contigit tibi, ut pater patriæ esses, antequam fieres.

one season, Trajan sent great quantities of corn for the relief of the poor. ^p *The Nile*, says Pliny, never flowed more abundantly for the glory of the Romans. p. 163.

The same author says upon Trajan's entry into Rome; ^q *Some proclaimed aloud, that they had seen enough after they had seen you; and others again that they must live longer.* p. 165.

There is a great deal of delicacy in Virgil's reflection on the imprudence or weakness of Orpheus, who, as he was bringing back his wife out of hell, looked back, and lost her the same instant: ^r *A pardonable folly indeed, if the infernal Gods were capable of pardoning.* p. 178.

There is no less delicacy in Cicero's applause of Cæsar; ^t *You are used to forget nothing but injuries.* p. 209.

Besides the delicacy of thoughts, which are merely ingenious, there is one that results from the sentiments, and where the natural affections have a greater share than the understanding. ^u *I shall never see you more*, says a poet on occasion of the death of a brother he loved passionately; *I shall never see you more, my dear brother; you who were dearer to me than life: but I will for ever love you.* Another speaks thus of a person who was very dear to him: ^v *You are to me a numerous company in the most solitary and desert*

^p Nilus Ægypto quidem sæpe, sed gloriæ nostræ nunquam largior fluxit.

^q Alii se satis vixisse, te viso, te recepto: alii nunc magis esse vivendum prædicabant.

^r Cùm subita incautum demencia cepit amantem: Ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere manes. *Georg.* l. 4.

^t Oblivisci nihil soles, nisi injurias. *Orat. pro Ligar.* n. 35.

^u Nunquam ego te vitâ frater amabilior aspiciam posthac: at certè semper amabo. *Catul.*

^v In folis tu mihi turba locis. *Tibul.*

places. But there is nothing more delicate than the complaints of a turtle dove, that is introduced speaking in a little dialogue in verse, between that bird and a man who passes by.

LE PASSANT.

Que fais-tu dans ce bois plaintive tourterelle ?

LA TOURTERELLE.

Je gémis : j'ai perdu ma compagne fidele.

LE PASSANT.

Ne crains tu point que l'oiseleur
Ne te fasse moufir comme elle ?

LA TOURTERELLE.

Si ce n'est lui, ce fera ma douleur.

p. 213, 216, 217.

I'll conclude this extract with a reflection no less rational than witty, of father Bouhours; it is in his book of ingenious thoughts. *Whatever, says he, is most delicate in the thoughts and expressions of authors who have writ with great justness and delicacy, is lost, when it is turned into another language; not unlike those exquisite essences whose subtil perfumes evaporate, when poured from one vessel into another.* P. 195.

Of shining thoughts.

There is a kind of thoughts, little known to the writers of Augustus's reign, and which were in no esteem or currency, till the decay of eloquence. These consist in a short, lively, and shining way of expressing one's self; which please chiefly by means of a certain point of wit, that strikes us by its boldness and novelty, and by its ingenious, but very

very uncommon turn. Seneca had a great share in introducing that vicious taste in Rome ; and it was so general and predominant in Quintilian's time ^w, that the orators made a law among themselves, to close almost every period with some sparkling thought, in order to gain the plaudits and acclamations of the auditors.

Quintilian's reflections upon that subject are very rational. * He does not condemn such kind of thoughts in themselves, which may make an oration great and noble, and give it at the same time strength, grace, and elevation ; he only condemns the abuse and too great affectation of it. ^y He would have them be looked upon as the eyes of the discourse ; and eyes must not be spread over the whole body. ^z He agrees that this new ornament may be added to the manner of writing among the antients, as it was allowed to add to the antient way of living, a certain neatness and elegance, which we cannot condemn, and of which we should even endeavour to make a kind of virtue ; but we must avoid excess. ^a For after all, the antient simplicity would still be more valuable than this new licence.

^b Indeed, when these thoughts are too numerous, they prejudice and extinguish one another, like

^w Nunc illud volunt, ut omnis locus, omnis sensus, in fine sermonis feriat aurem. Turpe autem ac prope nefas ducunt, respirare ullo loco, qui acclamationem non petierit. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 5.

^x Quod tantum in sententia bona crimen est ? Non causæ prodest ? non judicem movet ? non dicentem commendat ? *Ibid.*

^y Ego hæc lumina orationis

velut oculos quosdam eloquentiæ esse credo : sed neque oculos esse toto corpore velim. *Ibid.*

^z Patet media quædam via : sicut in cultu victuque accessit aliquis citra reprehensionem nitor, quem, sicut possumus, adjiciamus virtutibus. *Ibid.*

^a Si necesse sit, veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim, quàm istam novam licentiam.

^b Densitas earum obstat invicem, ut in satis omnibus fructibusque

like as trees planted too near together ; and they occasion the same obscurity and confusion in an oration, which too many figures do in a picture.

^c Besides, as these thoughts, whose beauty consists in being short and lively, are separated from one another, and that each forms a compleat sense ; the oration happens from thence to be very much disjointed and concise, without any connexion, and, as it were, composed rather of pieces and fragments, than of members and parts which should form a whole or perfect body. Now such a composition seems to be entirely opposite to the harmony of an oration, which requires more connexion and extent.

^d We may likewise say, that these shining thoughts cannot be so justly compared to a luminous flame, as to those sparks of fire which fly through the smoke.

^e In fine, when our only care is to crowd them one upon the other, we become very undelicate in distinguishing and chusing ; and among such a number there must necessarily be a great many flat, puerile and ridiculous ones.

It is obvious to those who are ever so little acquainted with Seneca, that what I have now said,

tibusque arborum nihil ad justam magnitudinem adolescere potest, quod loco, in quem crescat, caret. Nec pictura, in qua nihil circumlitum est, eminet: ideoque artifices etiam, cum plura in unam tabulam opera contulerunt, spatiis distinguunt, ne umbræ in corpora cadant. *Ibid.*

^c Facit res eadem concisam quoque orationem. Subsistit enim omnis sententia ; ideoque post eam utique aliud est initium. Unde soluta ferè oratio,

& è singulis non membris sed frustis collata, structurâ caret ; cum illa rotunda & undique circumcisa insiltere invicem nequeant. *Ibid.*

^d Lumina illa non flammæ, sed scintillis inter fumum emicantibus, similia dixeris. *Ibid.*

^e Hoc quoque accidit, quòd solas captanti sententias, multas necesse est dicere leves, frigidas, ineptas. Non enim potest esse delectus, ubi numero laboratur. *Ibid.*

is his portrait and the peculiar character of his works; and Quintilian observes it evidently in another place ^f, where after doing justice to the merit and learning of that great man, and acknowledging that we find in his writings a great number of beautiful thoughts and just maxims for forming our manners, he adds, that with regard to eloquence, a vicious and depraved taste runs through almost every part of his writings; and that they are more dangerous, because they abound with agreeable faults, which we cannot but approve. For that reason, he says, it were to be wished that so fine a genius, capable of every thing great in eloquence, of so rich and fruitful an invention, had had a more correct taste, and a more exact discernment; that he had been less enamoured with his own productions, that he had known how to make a proper choice of them; and, above all, that he had not weakened the important matters he treated, by a croud of trifling thoughts, & which may deceive us at first, with a glimpse and sparkle of wit, but which are found flat and childish, when examined with some attention.

I will extract some passages from this author, that youth may compare his style with Cicero's and Livy's, and examine whether Quintilian's judgment

^f Multæ in eo claræque sententiæ, multa etiam morum gratiâ legenda: sed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque eo perniciosissima, quod abundant dulcibus vitiis. Velles eum suo ingenio dixisse, alieno iudicio. Nam . . . si non omnia sua amasset, si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non frengisset, consensu potius eruditorem, quam puerorum amore comprobaretur . . . Multa pro-

banda in eo, multa etiam admiranda sunt, eligere modò curæ sit: quod utinam ipse fecisset! Digna enim fuit illa natura, quæ meliora vellet, quæ quod voluit effecit. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

^g Plerique minimis etiam inventiunculis gaudent, quæ excussæ risum habent, inventæ facie ingenii blandiuntur. *Quint.* l. 8. c. 5.

of it be well founded, or whether it be the effect of prejudice to Seneca.

I. Conference between Demaratus and Xerxes.

^h Cùm ⁱ bellum Græciæ indiceret Xerxes, animum tumentem, oblitumque quàm caducis consideret, nemo non impulit. Alius aiebat, non laturos nuncium belli, & ad primam adventus famam terga versuros. Alius, nihil esse dubii quin illa mole non vinci solum Græcia, sed obrui posset: magis verendum ne vacuas desertasque urbes invenirent, & profugis hostibus vastæ solitudines relinquerentur, non habituris ubi tantas vires exercere possent. Alius, illi vix rerum naturam sufficere: angusta esse classibus maria, militi castra, explicandis equestribus copiis campestria: vix patere cælum satis ad emittenda omni manu tela.

^k Cùm in hunc modum multa undique jaetarentur, quæ hominem nimia æstimatione sui furem concitarent;

^h Senec. de benefic. l. 6. c. 31.

ⁱ At the time that Xerxes, puffed up with pride, and blinded with a vain opinion of his strength, meditated upon carrying on a war against Greece; all the courtiers who were about him, endeavoured to vie with one another, in pushing him, by their extravagant flatteries, down the precipice to which his ambition led him; one saying, that the bare news of the war would fill the Greeks with confusion; and that they would fly at the first report of his march. Another said, that having so great an army, he was not only sure of conquering Greece, but of subverting it likewise; and that there was nothing to fear,

but that upon his arrival he would find the cities abandoned, and the country perfect deserts, by the precipitate flight of the people; and consequently that his great armies would have no person to engage. On the other side, they gave him to understand, that nature itself was scarce capacious enough for him; that the seas were too narrow for his fleets; that no camp was large enough for his infantry, nor any plain for his cavalry; and that there would hardly be space enough in the air to shoot all the darts which would be thrown from such an infinite number of hands.

^k Among all these compliments, which were so likely to turn the brain of a Prince who was already

tarent ; Demaratus Lacedæmonius solus dixit, ipsam illam quâ sibi placeret multitudinem, indigestam & gravem, metuendam esse ducenti ; non enim vires, sed pondus habere : immodica nunquam regi posse ; nec diu durare, quicquid regi non potest.

¹ In primo, inquit, statim monte Lacones objecti dabunt tibi sui experimentum. Tot ista gentium millia trecenti morabuntur : hærebunt in vestigio fixi, & commissas sibi angustias tuebuntur, & corporibus obstruent. Tota illos Asia non movebit loco. Tantas minas belli, & penè totius humani generis ruinam, paucissimi sustinebunt. Cum te mutatis legibus suis natura transmiserit, in semita hærebis, & æstimabis futura damna cum putaveris quanti Thermopylarum angusta constiterint. Scies te fugari posse, cum scieris posse retineri.

^m Cedent quidem tibi pluribus locis, velut tor-

ready intoxicated with the idea of his greatness, Demaratus a Spartan was the only man who durst tell him, that the foundation of his confidence was the very thing that should make him the more afraid; that so vast a body of forces, that so enormous and monstrous a body, had weight but no strength ; that it is impossible to govern or manage what has neither bounds nor measure, and that what cannot be governed, cannot subsist for any time.

¹ A handful of people whom you will meet on the first mountain you come to, will convince you of the courage of the Spartans ; three hundred of these will stop the millions you drag after you ; they will stand immovable in the pass which will be committed to their care, and they will defend it to the last breath, and will make a barrier and rampart of

their bodies ; all the power, of Asia will not make them retreat one step ; they alone will stand the dreadful onset of almost the whole world united against them. After you have forced nature to change all her laws, in order to open a passage for you, you will be stoppt in a narrow passage. You may judge of the loss you will afterwards sustain, by that which the passage of Thermopylae will occasion, when at the same time that you find they can stop you, you will find they can put you to flight.

^m Your armies which, like an impetuous flood, whose first efforts nothing can resist, may at first carry every thing before them ; but your enemies will rally immediately, and attacking you on different sides, will destroy you by your own strength.

rentis modo ablati, cujus cum magno terrore prima vis defluit : deinde hinc atque illinc coorientur, & tuis te viribus prement.

ⁿ Verum est quod dicitur, majorem belli apparatus esse, quàm qui recipi ab his regionibus possit, quas oppugnare constituis. Sed hæc res contra nos est. Ob hoc ipsum, te Græcia vincet, quia non capit. Uti toto te non potes.

^o Præterea, quæ una rebus salus est, occurrere ad primos rerum impetus & inclinatis opem ferre non poteris, nec fulcire ac firmare labantia. Multo antè vinceris, quàm victum esse te sentias.

^p Ceterùm, non est quod exercitum tuum ob hoc sustineri putes non posse, quia numerus ejus Duci quoque ignotus est. Nihil tam magnum est, quod perire non possit, cui nascitur in perniciem, ut alia quiescant, ex ipsa magnitudine sua causa.

^q Acciderunt quæ Demaratus prædixerat. Divina atque humana impellentem, & mutantem quicquid

ⁿ What is reported is very true, viz. that the country you are going to attack, is not sufficient to contain such immense preparations of war, but this makes directly against us. Greece will conquer you, because it cannot contain you; you will be able to employ only a part of yourself.

^o Besides, that which forms the security and refuge of an army, becomes absolutely impracticable to you. You will neither be able to give proper orders, nor to come up time enough to the first shocks your army will receive, nor to support those who give way, nor encourage those who begin to retire; so that you will be overcome long before you can be near enough to be sensible of it.

^p To conclude, Don't flatter

yourself, that nothing will be able to resist your forces, because their numbers are not known even to their general; there is nothing so great but may perish, since when there is no other obstacle, its own greatness is often the cause of its ruin.

^q Every thing happened according to Demaratus's prediction. Xerxes, who had made a resolution to surmount all the obstacles which Gods and men should oppose to his enterprizes; and who had overthrown every thing that opposed his passage, was stopped by three hundred men; and seeing very soon, the remains of his formidable armies scattered over all Greece, he found the difference between multitudes and an army.

obstiterat,

obstiterat, trecenti stare jusserunt : stratusque per totam passim Græciam Xerxes intellexit, quantum ab exercitu turba distaret.

Itaque Xerxes, pudore quàm damno miserior, Demarato gratias egit, quòd solus sibi verum dixisset, & permisit petere quod vellet. Petit ille ut Sardes, maximam Asiæ civitatem, curru vectus intraret, rectam capite tiaram gerens : id solis datum regibus. Dignus fuerat præmio, antequam peteret. Sed quàm miserabilis gens, in qua nemo fuit qui verum diceret regi, nisi qui non dicebat sibi !

We must own, that this little piece of Seneca is very fine, and that Demaratus's discourse is full of good sense and just reflections ; but methinks the style is too uniform, and that the antithesis is often made use of. The thoughts are too close and too much crouded. They are all disjoined from one another, which makes the style too concise and abrupt. A kind of point concludes almost every period. *Scies te fugari posse, cum scieris posse retineri*——*Ob hoc ipsum te Græcia vincet, quia non capit.*——*Multo antè vinceris, quàm victum esse te sentias.* This is not so distasteful, when we read only one distinct passage ; but when a whole work is in the same strain, 'tis diffi-

Then Xerxes, more unhappy from the shame and disgrace of so senseless an expedition, than the loss he had sustained, thanked Demaratus, because he only told him the truth ; and gave him leave to ask what favour he would : upon which the latter desired the liberty of making his entry into Sardis (one of the greatest cities in Asia) in a chariot, with a strait tiara upon his head, a privilege granted to Kings only. He would have

deserved that favour had he not asked it. But what idea shall we entertain of a nation, where there was not a man to tell the King the truth, except one who did not tell it to himself?

Unde soluta ferè oratio, & è singulis non membris sed fructis collata.

Nunc illud volunt, ut omnis locus, omnis sensus, in fine sermonis seriat aurem.

cult to read it regularly for any time without uneasiness, whereas those of Cicero and Livy never tire. Besides, can we use so unconnected and abrupt a style for discourses, where the auditors are to be instructed and affected, and can it therefore be proper for the bar or the pulpit?

We sometimes meet in Cicero with this kind of thoughts closing a period in a short and sprightly manner; but he is discreet and sparing in the use of those graces, which are, as it were, the salt and season of a discourse; and which, for that reason, must not be lavished.

"*Leviculus*" sanè noster Demosthenes, qui illo su-
furro delectari se dicebat aquam ferentis mulierculæ,
ut mos in Græcia est, insusurrantisque alteri: Hic
est ille Demosthenes. Quid hoc levius? at quantus
orator! Sed apud alios loqui videlicet didicerat,
non multum ipse secum. This thought is very
like that of Seneca's, *Quam miserabilis gens, in
qua nemo fuit qui verum diceret regi, nisi qui non
dicebat sibi!*

II. Seneca's reflection upon a saying of Augustus.

* Seneca relates a saying of Augustus, who being very much troubled for his having divulged the irregularities of his daughter, said, *he should not have been guilty of so much imprudence, had Agrippa or Mæcenas been living.* Seneca, to heighten

"Demosthenes, whom we admire so much, must have been very vain, when he was so sensibly affected, as he himself owns, with the little flattering expression of a woman that carried water, who pointing at him with her finger, whispers to a neighbour, That is Demos-

thenes. How mean was this! And yet, how great an orator was he! But this proceeded from his having learnt others to speak, and seldom spoke to himself.

"Lib. 5. Tuscul. n. 103.

"De Benef. l. 6. c. 32.

this sentence, makes a very judicious reflection upon it. *¶ Adeo tot habenti millia hominum, duos reparare difficile est! Cæsæ sunt legiones, & protinus scriptæ: fracta classis, & intra paucos dies natavit nova: sævitum est in opera publica ignibus, surrexerunt meliora consumptis. Tota vita, Agrippæ & Mæcænatis vacavit locus.* Nothing is more beautiful or judicious than this thought, *All losses may be repaired except that of a friend.* But he should have stopped there.

² Quid putem? adds Seneca. *Defuisse similes qui assumerentur, an ipsius vitium fuisse, qui maluit queri quam quærere? Non est quod existimemus Agrippam & Mæcænatem solitos illi vera dicere: qui, si vixissent, inter dissimulantes fuissent. Regalis ingenii mos est, in præsentium contumeliam amissa laudare, & his virtutem dare vera dicendi, à quibus jam audiendi periculum non est.*

Besides that nothing is more trifling than this play of words, *maluit queri quàm quærere*; the second reflection destroys the first entirely. This

³ So difficult it is, among so many millions, to find as many as would repair the loss of two! Legions have been cut to pieces, others have been raised immediately; a fleet has been wrecked, a new one has been built in a few days; a fire has consumed publick edifices; when others more magnificent than the former rise almost immediately out of the earth: but while Augustus lived, the place of Agrippa and Mæcænās were always vacant.

² What shall I think of this saying of Augustus? Must I really imagine there were not

such men left in the empire as he could make choice of for friends; or was it his own fault, chusing to complain, rather than to give himself the trouble of searching for them? It is not probable that Agrippa and Mæcænās used to tell him truth; and had they been living, they would have been as silent as others on this occasion. But it is a piece of policy among Princes to speak well of the dead, to shame the living; and to applaud the brave liberty of the former, in telling the truth, which they have no reason to be any longer afraid of.

supposes it a difficult matter to supply the loss of good friends, and the other affirms quite the contrary. Farther, why does Seneca offer so much injury to Augustus, or rather to his two friends, as to say, they did not use to tell him the truth; and that they durst not do it on the occasion in question? Mecænas had always the liberty of speaking freely to him; and we know that at a certain trial, where Augustus seemed inclinable to be cruel, this favourite not being able to approach him, by reason of the crowd, threw a little note to him in writing, by which he desired him *to come away, and not act the part of the executioner.* As for Agrippa, he had courage enough to advise Augustus to restore the commonwealth to its ancient liberty, at a time that he was master of the empire, and deliberating whether he should form a republican or monarchical state.

We see by this, that Seneca wanted a quality essential in an orator; that is, to know how to keep within the limits of truth and beauty, and to lop off, without pity, whatever is superlatively perfect, according to that fine rule in Horace, *Re-cideret omne quod ultra perfectum traberetur.* ^c Seneca was too much enamoured with his own genius; he could not prevail with himself to lose or sacrifice any of his productions; and he often weakned the strength and debased the greatness of his subjects by little trifling thoughts.

^a Surge tandem carnifex.

^b Satyr. 10. lib. 1.

^c Si aliqua contempsisset . . .

Si non omnia sua amasset, si rerum pondera minutissimis

sententiis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum quam puerorum amore comprobaretur. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

III. Another thought of Seneca upon the scarcity of sincere friends.

^d We meet with another very beautiful thought in the same place upon the subject of friendship. Seneca speaks of the croud who make their court to great men.

^e *Ad quemcumque istorum veneris, says he, quorum salutatio urbem concutit, scito, etiamsi animadverteris obsessos ingenti frequentia vicos, & commeantium in utramque partem catervis itinera compressa, tamen venire te in locum hominibus plenum, amicis vacuum. In pectore amicus, non in atrio quaeritur. Illud recipiendus est, illic retinendus, & in sensus recondendus.*

It must be acknowledged there is a great beauty and vivacity in this thought and turn, *venire te in locum hominibus plenum, amicis vacuum*. After all that has been said of the bustle and noise in the city because of the incredible concourse of citizens who hurry to visit the great, and fill their palaces: this antithesis is very fine, *in locum hominibus plenum, amicis vacuum*; into a place full of men, empty of friends: but to what end are the following words, *in pectore amicus, non in atrio quaeritur*? We want a friend in the antichamber? I only see an antithesis there, and nothing further, and I confess I have not been able to understand it.

F. Bouhours has not forgot to teach us what judgment we are to form of Seneca. "Of all the ingenious writers, says he, Seneca is least ca-

^d Senec. de benef. l. 6. c. 34.

^e If you visit any of those great men, to whom the whole city make their court; know, that you find the streets besieged, and the roads barricaded by incredible numbers of people, who go backward and forward; you

yet come into a place full of men and empty of friends. We must look for a friend in the heart, and not in the antichamber. It is there we must receive and keep him, 'tis there we must lodge him safely, as a deposit.

" pable

“ pable of reducing his thoughts to the bounda-
 “ ries required by good sense. He would al-
 “ ways please, and he is so afraid that a thought,
 “ which is beautiful in itself, should not strike,
 “ that he represents it in all its lights, and beau-
 “ tifies it with all the colours that can make it
 “ agreeable. [†] By repeating the same thought,
 “ and turning it several ways, he spoils it: not
 “ being satisfied with once saying a thing well, he
 “ spoils it.

He cites a saying of Cardinal Palavicino, which is pretty much in the Italian taste, but is however judicious. “ Seneca, says the Cardinal, perfumes his thoughts with amber and musk, which, at last, affect the head; they are pleasing at first, but very tiresome afterwards.

Another very celebrated author forms the same judgment of Seneca, and gives in few words, excellent rules with regard to thoughts.

“ There are, says he, two sorts of beauty in
 “ eloquence, which we must endeavour to make
 “ youth sensible of. The one consists in beautiful
 “ and just, but at the same time, extraordinary
 “ and surprizing thoughts. Lucian, Seneca and
 “ Tacitus are full of those beauties. The other,
 “ on the contrary, does not any way consist in
 “ uncommon thoughts, but in a certain natural
 “ air, in an easy, elegant and delicate simplicity,
 “ which does not force attention from the mind;
 “ presents only to it common, but yet lively and
 “ agreeable images; and which knows so hap-
 “ pily how to follow all its impulses, that it
 “ never fails of offering such objects to it on every

[†] Habet hoc Montanus vitium, sententias suas repetendo corrumpit: dum non est contentus unam rem semel bene

dicere, efficit ne bene dixerit. *Controvers. 5. lib. 9.*

[‡] M. Nicole in his education of a Prince. 2 Part, n. 39, 40.

“ subject, as may affect it ; and to express all the
 “ passions and emotions which the things it represents, ought to produce in it. Terence and Virgil are famous for this sort of beauty ; and we see by this, that it is more difficult than the other, since these two authors have been the hardest to imitate.

“ If we have not the art of blending this natural beauty with that of noble thoughts, the better we endeavour to write and speak, the worse we shall probably succeed in these ; and the more genius we have, the more apt we shall be to fall into a vicious kind of wit. For hence it is we give into points, which is a very bad species of writing. And though the thoughts should be just and beautiful in themselves, they yet would fire the understanding, if too numerous, and applied to subjects which do not require them. Seneca, who is extraordinary when we consider him separately or in parts, wearies the mind, if we read a great part of him ; and I believe that if Quintilian had reason to say of him, that he is full of lively faults, we might likewise justly say of him, that he is full of beauties which are disagreeable by being too much crowded ; and because he seemed resolved to say nothing that was plain, but to turn all into points or conceits. There is no fault we must endeavour to make children who have made some advances in study more sensible of, than this, because none contributes more towards depriving us of the fruits of our studies, with regard to language and eloquence.

^b The perusal of Seneca may however be very beneficial to youth, when their taste and judgment

^b Verum sic quoque jam robustis, & severiore genere satis firmatis, legendus, vel ideo, quod exercere potest utrinque judicium. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

begin to be formed by the study of Cicero. Seneca is an original, capable of giving wit to others, and of making invention easy to them. He may borrow a great many passages from his treatise of clemency, and from that of the shortness of life, which will accustom youth to find thoughts of themselves. This study will likewise teach them to distinguish the good from the bad. But the master must conduct them in this study, and not leave them to themselves, lest they should mistake the very faults of Seneca for beauties, which are the more dangerous to them, as they are more conformable to the genius of their age; and are likewise capable of seducing the most judicious, as we before observed.

ARTICLE the THIRD.

Of the choice of words.

WE have seen by all the examples hitherto cited, how useful the choice of words is in representing thoughts and proofs to advantage, and giving a clear idea of their beauty and force. Expressions indeed give things a new grace, and communicate that lively colouring which is so well adapted to form rich and speaking pictures: So that by the changing, and sometimes by the irregular placing of the words only, almost the whole beauty of an oration shall disappear.

One would think, that the chief use a man should make of his reason, would be to attend only to the things which are said to him, without giving himself any trouble about the manner in which they are represented to him. But we experience the contrary every day, and it is perhaps one of the effects of the corruption and degeneracy of our

our nature, that being immerfed in sensible pleasures, we are scarce affected with any thing but what strikes and moves the senses; and that we seldom judge either of thoughts or of men, otherwise than by their dress.

Not that I think it a fault to prefer what is embellished to what is not so. We have a strong bias and inclination not only for what is good and true, but likewise for what is beautiful; and this attraction is derived to us from the Creator, who scarce presents any thing to our eyes but what is lovely and amiable. The vice on this occasion is, that we are more touched with outside and ornament, than truth; or are affected with embellishments only, without any regard to things themselves. But it is agreeable to the primary design of the Creator, that external beauty and agreeableness should be of service to set off and illustrate what is otherwise good and true.

An orator is therefore obliged to be particularly careful and studious of elocution^h, which may enable him to express his thoughts; for without this, all his other qualifications, how great soever, would be of no use. This branch must be very essential to eloquence, since it received its name from it.ⁱ And indeed we find that elocution chiefly distinguishes the merit of an orator; forms the difference of styles, on which the success of an oration generally depends, and which, properly speaking, art teaches us; for the rest depends more on genius and nature.

^h Eloqui, hoc est omnia quæ mente conceperis promere atque ad audientes perferre: sine quo supervacua sunt priora, similia gladio condito, atque intra vaginam suam hærenti. *Quintil. in Proam. l. 8.*

ⁱ Hoc maximè docetur: hoc nullus nisi arte assequi potest: hoc maximè orator oratore præstantior: hoc genera ipsa dicendi alia aliis potiora; ut appareat in hoc & vitium & virtutem esse dicendi. *Ibid.*

We have treated elsewhere of the propriety and perspicuity of words ; and we are now upon their elegance and force. It is surprising that words, which are common to every one, and have no intrinsic or peculiar beauty, should acquire, in a moment, a lustre that alters them entirely, when managed with art, and applied to certain uses or occasions. *Ædificare*, i. e. *To build*, when spoke of a house, is a very plain word ; but when the poet employs it to express the ornaments with which the women decked the different stages of their head-dresses :

^k Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus
altum
Ædificat caput.

It is like a diamond that sparkles with a strong light. Boileau has finely imitated Juvenal's thought and expression.

Et qu'une main savante, avec tant d'artifice,
Bâtit de ses cheveux l'élégant édifice.

We may indeed affirm, that words have no value but what is communicated to them, and that the workman's art fixes their price. As they are intended to express our thoughts, they ought to grow out of these ; ^l for good expressions are ge-

^k Juvenal. Sat. 7. ver. 500.

^l Res & sententiæ vi suâ verba parient, quæ semper satis ornata mihi quidem videri solent, si ejusmodi sunt ut ea res ipsa peperisse videatur. 2. de Orat. n. 146.

Rerum copia, verborum copiam gignit. Cic. 3. de Orat. n. 125.

Cum de rebus grandioribus dicas, ipsæ res verba rapiunt. Lib. 3. de fin. n. 19.

Verba erunt in officio
sic ut semper sensibus inherere videantur, atque ut umbra corpus sequi. Quintil. in Proem. l. 8.

Plerumque optima rebus coherant, & cernuntur suo lumine. At nos quærimus illa, tanquam lateant semper, seque subducant Optima sunt minimè accersita, & simplicibus atque ab ipsa veritate profectis similia. Ibid.

nerally

nerally affixed to the things themselves, and follow them as the shadow does the body. It is an error to think we must always search for them out of their subject, as though they stole from us, and we were obliged to employ a kind of violence in employing them. ^m The most natural are the best. I suppose, as I observed elsewhere, that people have diligently studied the language they write in, that they have made a great collection of rich expressions from a close and serious perusal of good authors; but above all, that they have furnished themselves with all the knowledge requisite in an orator: then the diction will give them little trouble. It is with words in composing, as with servants in a well-regulated family; they don't wait till called for, come of themselves, and are always ready when wanted. The only difficulty lies in the making the choice, and knowing how to employ them in their proper places.

This choice costs us more time and trouble in the beginning, we being then obliged to examine, weigh, and compare things; but it becomes afterwards so easy and natural, that the ⁿ words offer themselves, and rise under the pen, almost without

^m Qui rationem loquendi primum cognoverit, tum lectione multa & idonea copiosam sibi verborum suppellectilem compararit . . . ei res cum nominibus suis occurrent. Sed opus est studio præcedente, & acquisita facultate & quasi reposita. *Ibid.*

Onerandum complendumque pectus maximarum rerum & plurimarum suavitate, copia, varietate. *Lib. 3. de Orat.* n. 121.

Celeritatem dabit consuetu-

do. Paulatim res facilius se ostendent verba respondebunt, compositio sequetur: cuncta denique, ut in familia bene instituta in officio erunt sic ut non requisita respondere, sed ut semper sensibus inhærere videantur. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 3. & l. 8. in Proœm.*

ⁿ Verba omnia, quæ sunt cujusque generis, maximè illustria, sub acumen styli subeant & succedant necesse est. *Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 151.*

our thinking of the choice °. A nice and exact care is required at first, but it ought to lessen as we improve. There are however some orators, who being always dissatisfied with themselves, and very ingenious in tormenting themselves, despise all the expressions which occur to them at first, though ever so useful, in order to search after the most beautiful, the brightest, and most extraordinary; and who lose time by torturing themselves with quarrelling with every word, and almost every syllable.

¶ But this is an unprofitable labour, a mistaken delicacy, which at last only extinguishes the fire of the imagination, and makes the orator unhappy! The art of speaking would be of no great value, did it always cost so much pains, or were we condemned all our lives to the tedious task of searching for words, and of weighing and adjusting them. The orator, if he deserves the name, must be possessed of all the treasures of eloquence, and of the art of managing them; like the possessor of an estate, who disposes of it as he thinks fit.

There are several examples relating to the choice of words, in the article where I treated of the

° *Ista querendi, judicandi, comparandi anxietas, dum discimus adhibenda est, non cum dicimus Quibusdam tamen nullus finis calumniandi est, & cum singulis penè syllabis commorandi, qui, etiam cum optima sint reperta, querunt aliquid quod sit magis antiquum, remotum, inopinatum increduli quidam, & de ingenio suo pessimè meriti, qui diligentiam putant facere sibi scribendi difficultatem. Quint. in Proem. l. 8.*

¶ Abominanda hæc infelici-

tas erat, quæ & cursum dicendi refrænât, & calorem cogitationis extinguit mora & diffidentia. *Ibid.*

Neque enim vis summa dicendi est admiratione digna, si infelix usque ad ultimum sollicitudo persequitur, ac oratorem macerat & coquit, ægrè verba vertentem, & perpendendis coagmentandisque eis intabescentem. Nitidus ille, & sublimis, & locuples, circumfluentibus undique eloquentiæ copiis imperat. *Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.*

elegance

elegance and delicacy of the Latin tongue ; to which I will add a few more in this place.

Appius employs a comparison taken from hunting, to exhort the Romans to continue the siege of Veia in winter ; telling them that the pleasure we find in it makes us forget the greatest fatigues, and carries us into the most steep, craggy places, in spite of the severity of the weather. ^p *Obsecro vos, venandi studium ac voluptas homines per nives ac pruinas in montes sylvasque rapit : belli necessitatibus eam patientiam non adhibebimus, quam vel lusus ac voluptas elicere solet ?* How strong is the word *rapit* ? In order to taste it effectually, we need only compare it with another expression which Seneca uses in a thought not unlike this. He speaks of merchants who undertake long and dangerous voyages by sea and land, through an insatiable thirst of gain. ^q *Alium mercandi præceptis cupiditas circa omnes terras, omnia maria, spe lucri ducit.* The word *ducit* is too slow for so violent a passion as avarice : *præceptis cupiditas.*

Sallust condemns the fury of soldiers against the vanquished, and accounts for it thus : *Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundæ res sapientum animos fatigant : ne illi, corruptis moribus, victoriæ temperarent.* I would only fix upon this word *fatigant*. Is it possible to give a shorter or more lively representation of the hard trials which most good people undergo in prosperity ? It attacks them, pursues them incessantly, makes perpetual war against them, and does not leave them till it has despoiled them of their virtue ; and if it cannot conquer them by force, it seems to hope at least that they will give up their arms through fatigue and

^p Liv. lib. 5. n. 5.

^q De brevitate vite, c. 2.

weariness. *Secundæ res sapientum animos fatigant.*

This expression makes me call to mind another of Tacitus, which is full as emphatical. '*An cum Tiberius, post tantam rerum experientiam, vi dominationis convulsus & mutatus sit, C. Cæsarem, &c.*' which Ablancourt translates to this purpose; "If Tiberius, after such long experience, suffered himself to be corrupted by his good fortune, what must become of Caligula, &c." This translation enervates the whole force of the thought, which consists in these two words, *convulsus*, and *vi dominationis*. *Convellere* signifies to tear away, to eradicate, to carry away by force, and to displace a thing by violence. There is in sovereign power a pomp, a pride and haughtiness which attack the best Princes with such violence, that they cannot resist it; so that being torn from themselves, and their good inclinations, they are soon changed into other men. *Vi dominationis convulsus & mutatus.*

The same author speaks of prosperity, in his histories, in the same sense with Sallust, but under another idea. '*Fortunam adhuc tantum adversam tulisti. Secundæ res acrioribus stimulis animos explorant: quia miseriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur. Fidem, libertatem, amicitiam, præcipua humani animi bona, tu quidem eadem constantiâ retinebis; sed alii per obsequium imminuent. Irrumpet adulatio, blanditiæ pessimum veri affectûs venenum, sua cuique utilitas.*' This passage is taken from Galba's speech to Piso, on his adopting and making him his associate in the empire, which Ablancourt has translated to this purpose. "Fortune has hitherto been averse to you; she is now changing to your advantage. Be now careful to make yourself capable of supporting her favours equally with

^r Annal. l. 6. c. 48.

^r Histor. l. 1. c. 13.

“ her frowns. For the spurs or incentives of prosperity are much more powerful than those of adversity ; because we yield to the one and resist the other. Although you should preserve your virtue, yet all those near your person will lose theirs. Flattery will resume the place of truth, and interest that of affection, whose poison and venom it is.” Much might be said upon this translation, but that it would be foreign to our present purpose. I only would observe, that it has not preserved the beauty of those words, *irrumperet adulatio*, which import, that whatever measures and precautions Piso might take to keep off flattery, she yet would force herself a way, and, as it were, break through any thing to come at him, who might be opposed against her. The French does not sufficiently represent that idea ; *Flattery will resume the place of truth*.

Pliny the naturalist, ascribes the decay and ruin of morals, to the prodigious expences of Scaurus during his edileship. He expresses this thought in a wonderful manner, by a very few words which are highly emphatical. * *Cujus nescio an ædilitas maxime prostraverit mores*. His edileship completed the ruin of morals.

In all our good French writers, we meet with a multitude of expressions, either sprightly or emphatical ; shining or beautiful.

“ That man (Maccabeus) whom God had set over Israel, like a wall of brass, where the forces of Asia were so often shattered, after defeating powerful armies . . . came every year, as though he had been the least of the Israelites, to repair with his triumphant bands, the breaches which the enemy had made in the sanctuary.

* Lib. 36. c. 15.

“ M. Flechier.

We saw him, (M. du Turenne) in the famous battle of the Downs, force the weapons out of the hands of the mercenary troops, when they were going to fall on the vanquished with a brutal fury.

He won the hearts of those, who are generally kept within the limits of their duty through fear of punishment only, with the ties of respect and friendship . . . By what invisible chains did he thus lead the will?

How often did he make his greatest efforts, to tear off the fatal bandage which shut his eyes against truth?

We might observe in many of the above cited examples, that epithets contribute very much to the elegance and strength of an oration. They chiefly produce that effect, when they are figurative and metaphorical, according to Quintilian's observation. ^w *Discamus spes effrœnatas & animum in futura eminentem velut in vinculis habere. . . .* ^x *Vide quantum rerum per unam gulam transitarum permisceat luxuria, terrarum marisque vastatrix.* The same Seneca speaks thus in an excellent encomium upon the death of the wife of a provincial governour: ^y *Loquax & ingeniosa in contumelias præfectorum provincia, in qua etiam qui vitaverunt culpam, non effugerunt infamiam, eam velut unicum sanctitatis exemplum suspexit.* Cicero says something like this of his brother. ^z *Quæ cum honesta sint in his privatis nostris quotidianisque rationibus; in tanto imperio, tam depravatis moribus, tam corruptrice provincia, divina videantur necesse est.*

^a A discourse without epithets is weak, and seems almost without life or soul. However, we must

^w Senec. de tranq. anim.

^x Idem epist. 95.

^y De consol. ad Helv. c. 17.

^z Ep. 1. ad Quint. frat. lib. 1.

^a Talis est ratio hujusce virtutis, ut sine appositis nuda sit, & in.

must not multiply them too much. For, to use Quintilian's comparison, it is with epithets in a discourse as with attendants in an army, who would be extremely burthenfome, and of no other use but to embarrass it, if every soldier had one; for then the number would be doubled, but not the strength.

ARTICLE the FOURTH.

Of the order and disposition of words.

IT must be owned, that the placing of words contributes very much to the beauty and sometimes even to the strength of a discourse. ^b Nature informs man with a taste, which makes him sensible to harmony and cadence; and in order to introduce this kind of harmony and concert into languages, we need only consult nature, study the genius of those languages, and sound and interrogate, as it were, the ears, which ^c Cicero justly calls a proud and disdainful judge. Indeed, let a thought be ever so beautiful in itself, if the words which express it are ill placed, the delicacy of the ear is shocked at it; ^d a harsh and inharmonious com-

L 3 position

& incompta oratio. Ne oneretur tamen multis. Nam fit longa & impedita, ut eam judices similem agmini totidem lixas habenti, quot milites quoque: in quo & numerus est duplex, nec duplum virium. *Quint. l. 8. c. 6.*

^b Natura ducimur ad modos. *Quint. l. 9. c. 4.*

Aures, vel animus auri m nuntio naturalem quandam in se continet vocum omnium mentionem . . . Animadversum

est eadem natura admonente, esse quosdam certos cursus conclusionesque verborum. *Orat. n. 177, 178.*

^c Graves sententiæ inconditis verbis elatæ offendunt aures, quarum est judicium superbissimum. *Orat. n. 150.*

Aurium sensus fastidiosissimus. *Lib. 1. ad Heren. n. 32.*

^d Itaque & longiora & breviora judicat, & perfecta ac moderata semper expectat. Mutila sentit quædam, & quasi decurtata,

position grates it; whereas it is generally flattered with that which is soft and flowing. If the harmony be not strong, and the cadence too quick, the ear is sensible that something is wanting; and is not satisfied. But, on the contrary, if there is any thing heavy and superfluous, it cannot bear it. In a word, nothing can give it pleasure but a copious and harmonious turn of words.

To prove that this taste is natural, we need only observe, ^e that it is common to the learned and unlearned; but with this difference, that ^f the former know the reasons, and that the other judge by sensation only. Thus ^g Cicero cannot conceive how it is possible for a man not to be sensible to the harmony of an oration; and he does not judge of it so much by his own experience, as by what frequently happened to a whole assembly, who were so charmed with the close of harmonious periods, that they discovered their satisfaction and taste by universal acclamations.

It is then of the greatest importance that youth should be taught early to discover that ranging or placing of expressions in authors. ^h We must make them

decurtata, quibus tanquam debito fraudetur: productiora alia, & quasi immoderatiùs excurrentia; quæ magis etiam aspernantur aures. *Orat. n. 177, 178.*

Optimè de illa (compositione) judicant aures, quæ & plena sentiunt, & parum expleta desiderant, & fragoris offenduntur, & lenibus mulcentur, & contortis excitantur, & stabilia probant, clauda deprehendunt, redundantia & nimia fastidiunt. *Quintil. l. 9. c. 4.*

^e Unum est & simplex aurium judicium, & promiscuè

ac communiter stultis ac sapientibus à natura datum. *Cic. pro Font. n. 12.*

^f Docti rationem componendi intelligant, indocti voluptatem, *Quint. l. 9. c. 4.*

^g Quod qui non sentiunt, quas aures habeant, aut quid in his hominis simile sit, nescio. Meæ quidem, &c. Quid dico meas? Conciones sæpe exclamare vidi, cum aptè verba cecidissent. *Orator. n. 16.*

^h Nihil est tam tenerum, neque tam flexibile, neque quod tam facillè sequatur quocumque ducas, quàm oratio. . . . Ea nos

them admire, how words in the orator's hands, are like soft wax, which he handles and manages at pleasure, and to which he gives whatever form he thinks fit: how by the different structure he gives them, the oration proceeds sometimes with a majestic gravity, or runs with rapidity; sometimes charms and ravishes the auditor by the softness of its harmony, or fills him with horror by a sharp and harsh cadence, according to the subject he writes upon. We must make youth observe, that this ranging of expressions has a surprizing effect, not only as it pleases but makes an impression on peoples minds. ⁱ For, as Quintilian observes, it is scarce possible that an expression should touch the heart, when it begins with grating the ear, which is, as its were, its portico and avenue. On the other hand, a man is willing to hear what pleases him ^k, and this induces him to believe what is said to him.

As the quality and measure of words do not depend upon the orator, and that he finds them all cut out, as it were, to his hand; ⁱ his address

nos (verba) cùm jacentia sustulimus è medio, sicut mollissimam ceram ad nostrum arbitrium formamus & fingimus. Itaque tum graves sumus, tum subtiles, tum medium quiddam tenemus: sic institutam nostram sententiam sequitur orationis genus. *Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 176, 177.*

Rebus accommodanda compositio, ut asperis asperos etiam numeros adhiberi oporteat, & cum dicente æquè audientem exhorrescere. *Quintil. l. 8. c. 4.* Idque ad omnem rationem, & aurium voluptatem, & animorum motum mutatur & ver-

titur. *Ibid.*

ⁱ Nihil intrare potest in affectum, quod in aure velut quodam vestibulo statim offendit. *Ibid.*

^k Voluptate ad fidem ducitur. *Quintil.*

ⁱ Collocationis est componere & struere verba sic, ut neve asper eorum concursus, neve hiulus sit, sed quodammodo coagmentatus & lævis Hæc est collocatio, quæ junctam orationem efficit, quæ coherentem, quæ lævem, quæ æqualiter fluentem. *3. de Orat. n. 171, 172.*

consists in ranging them in such order, that their concurrence and union (without leaving any vacuity, or producing any harshness) may render the oration soft, flowing and agreeable. And there are no expressions, however harsh they may appear in themselves, but may contribute to the harmony of a discourse, when judiciously ranged; ^m like as in a building, in which the most irregular and roughest stones have places fit for them. Isocrates, properly speaking, was the first among the Greeks, who made them sensible to this beauty of harmony and cadence; and we shall soon see, that Cicero did the same service to the language of his country.

The rules which Cicero and Quintilian have given us upon this topic, as they observed the different feet to be employed in orations, may be of service to young people, provided a judicious choice is made from these. The observations of Sylvius, called *Progymnasmata*, which are at the end of the collection of phrases, from Cicero, may likewise be of great use to them; but the best master they can study on this subject, is Cicero himself. He was the first who perceived that the Latin tongue wanted a beauty which the antient Romans were absolutely ignorant of, or neglected; and which however was capable of raising it to a much greater perfection. As he was extremely jealous of the honour of his country, he undertook by embellishing the Latin tongue with sound, cadence and harmony, to make, if possible, the language of his country equal to that of the Greeks, which has a very great advantage in this particular. It is surprizing, how it was possible for him, in a few years, to carry the Latin in this re-

^m Sicut in structura saxorum possit insistere, *Quintil. l. 9.*
 rudium etiam ipsa enormitas c. 4.
 invenit cui applicari, & in quo

spect to a sovereign perfection, which is not effected, generally speaking, without long experience, and advances gradually by slow improvements. It is Cicero then that youth must propose in this, as well as in every thing else. They will meet with rich thoughts and beautiful expressions in the historians ; but they must not therefore search for harmonious and periodical words in them. ^a The style of history, which must be easy, natural and flowing, is not suitable to those grave and measured cadences which the majesty of an oratorial discourse requires.

The easiest and surest way of making young people sensible of the beauty of ranging expressions, is to practise what Cicero himself did, in treating of this subject in his books *de Oratore* ; that is, to select some of the most harmonious and periodical passages in the books which are explained to them ; and to take them out of the order in which they are set. ^o There will still be the same thoughts and expressions, but not the same grace, nor the same force ; and the more those passages are conspicuous in sense and diction, the more grating will they be when thus displaced ; and the pomp of the words will make this still remarkable. The ears of young people being formed after this manner, by an assiduous perusal of Cicero, and accustomed to the soft and harmonious cadence of his periods, will become delicate, and difficult to be pleased ; and, as he says of himself, their ears will discover perfectly

^a Historiæ, quæ currere debet ac ferri, minus conveniunt interfixæ clausulæ. *Quintil.* l. 9. c. 4.

^o Quod cuique visum erit vehementer, dulciter speciosè dictum, solvat & turbet : aberit omnis vis, jucunditas, decor...

Illud notasse satis habeo, quo pulchriora & sensu & elocutione dissolveris, hoc orationem magis deformem fore : quia negligentia collocationis ipsa verborum luce deprehenditur. *Ibid.*

^p Meæ quidem (aures) & perfectio completoque verborum ambitu

fectly well a full and harmonious period, and observe likewise whether there is any defect or redundancy in it.

¶ Although there must be harmony in the whole body and texture of the period, and that the harmony, of which we are treating, results from this union and concert of all the parts; 'tis allowed however, that it makes the brightest figure in the close. The ear being carried away in the other parts of the oration, by the continuity of words, like a flood, is not capable of forming a proper judgment of sounds, till the rapidity of the discourse stopping a little, gives it a kind of repose. And indeed, it is here that the auditor's admiration, which an enchanting pleasure had till then suspended, breaks out suddenly by general acclamations.

¶ The beginning likewise requires particular care, because the ear, by giving new attention to it, easily discovers its faults.

'Tis then to the beginning and end of the period, that the disquisition we make to youth, must chiefly be pointed; nor must we omit to make them attend to the surprising variety with which Cicero has interspersed his numbers, in order to avoid the tiresome uniformity of the same cadences, which tire and disgust the auditors: I except however that trivial close, *esse videatur*, which he was justly re-

ambitu gaudent, & curta sentiunt, nec amant redundantia. *Orat. n. 168.*

¶ In omni quidem corpore, tectoque, ut ita dixerim, tractu numeris inserta est (compositio.) Magis tamen desideratur in clausulis, & apparet. Aures continuam vocem secutæ, ductæque velut prono decurrentis orationis flumine, tum magis

judicant, cum ille impetus sentit, & intuendi tempus dedit. Hæc est sedes orationis: hoc auditor expectat: hic laus omnis declamat. *Quintil. l. 9. c. 4.*

¶ Proximam clausulis diligentiam postulant initia: nam & ad hæc intentus auditor est. *Ibid.*

proached

proached to have affected, and with which he concludes a great number of his phrases. We find it above ten times in his oration *pro lege Manilia*.

There is another disposition or order of words more visible and studied, which may suit with pompous and ceremonious speeches; such as those of the demonstrative kind, † where the auditor, not being upon his guard against the surprizes of art, is not afraid that snares are laid to entrap him; for then, so far from being disgusted at those harmonious and flowing cadences, he thinks himself obliged to the orator, for giving him by that means a sweet and innocent pleasure. But it is otherwise when grave and serious matters are handled, whose only view is to affect and instruct. The cadence must then be likewise something grave and serious; * and this pleasing allure-ment which is prepared for the auditors, must be concealed, as it were, beneath the justness of the thoughts and the beauty of the expressions, which may so engross their attention, that it may seem not unattentive to the harmony and disposition.

EXAMPLES.

Every part of Cicero will convince our eyes, or rather ears, of the truth of what is now asserted.

† Cum is est auditor, qui non vereatur ne compositæ orationis insidiis sua fides attentetur, gratiam quoque habet oratori, voluptati aurium servienti. *Orat. n. 208.*

* Sic minimè animadvertetur delectationis aucupium, & quadrandæ orationis industria quæ latebit eò magis, si & ver-

borum & sententiarum ponderibus utemur. Nam qui audiunt, hæc duo animadvertunt, & jucunda sibi censent, verba dico & sententias: eaque dum animis attentis admirantes excipiunt, fugit eos & prætervolat numerus; qui tamen si abesset, illa ipsa delectarent. *Ibid. n. 197.*

Quod

^u Quodd si è portu solventibus, ii, qui jam in portum ex alto invehuntur, præcipere summo studio solent & tempestatum rationem, & prædonum, & locorum, quodd natura affert ut eis faveamus, qui eadem pericula, quibus nos perfuncti sumus, ingrediuntur : quo tandem me animo esse oportet, prope jam ex magna jactatione terram videntem, in eum, cui video maximas reipublicæ tempestates esse subeundas ? Nothing can be smoother than this period : but were we to throw some of the words out of the order in which they stand, it would disguise the whole strangely.

^w Omnes urbanæ res, omnia hæc nostra præclara studia, & hæc forensis laus & industria, latent in tutela ac præsidio bellicæ virtutis. Simul atque increpuit suspicio tumultûs, artes illico nostræ conticescunt. This concluding cadence, which is a dichoreus, is extremely harmonious ; and for that very reason, Cicero thinks it should not be too often used in orations ; because affectation becomes vicious, even in the best things.

^x Animadverti, judices, omnem accusatoris orationem in duas divisam esse partes. According to the natural order, it should be, in duas partes divisam esse. But what a difference ! Rectum erat, sed durum & incomptum, says Quintilian, in his observation on this order and disposition.

^y Quam spem cogitationum & consiliorum meorum, cum graves communium temporum, tum varii nostri casus fefellerunt. Nam qui locus quietis & tranquillitatis plenissimus fore videbatur, in eo maximæ molestiarum & turbulentissimæ tempestates extiterunt. Is there any thing in music sweeter than these periods ?

^u Pro Mur. n. 4.

^w Ibid. n. 22.

^x Pro Cluent. n. 1.

^y Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 2.

^z *Hæc Centuripina navis erat incredibili celeritate velis Evolarat jam è conspectu ferè fugiens quadriremis, cùm etiam tunc ceteræ naves in suo loco moliebantur.* Here every thing is rapid; the choice of words, as well as the disposition of them; and the choice of the very letters, most of which are liquid and smooth, *Incredibili celeritate velis.* The cadence at the beginning, *evolarat, jam, &c.* is as swift as the ship itself; whereas that at the end, which consists wholly of one very long, heavy word, represents in a wonderful manner the efforts of an ill-equipped fleet, *Moliebantur.*

^a *Respice celeritatem rapidissimi temporis: cogita brevitatem hujus spatii, per quid citatissimi currimus.* It is plain that Seneca endeavoured in this place to describe the rapidity of time, by that of words and letters.

^b *Servius agitat rem militarem: insectatur totam hanc legationem: assiduitatis, & operarum harum quotidianarum putat esse consulatum.* One cannot doubt but Cicero purposely affected to employ three pretty long genitives plural, and the same termination in this place; (which would have a very ill effect in any other) the more to degrade the profession which his adversary undertook to magnify. He seems to have copied this passage from Terence. ^c *O faciem pulchram! Deleo omnes debinc ex animo mulieres. Tædet quotidianarum harum formarum.*

The same orator endeavoured to prove that Milo did not leave Rome with an intention to attack Clodius; he gives the following description of his equipage: *Cùm hic insidiator, qui iter illud ad cædem faciendam apparasset, cum uxore veberetur in rheda, penulatus, vulgi magno impedi-*

^z In Verr. 7. n. 37.

^a Epist. 99.

^b Pro Mur. n. 21.

^c Eunuch. act. 2. sc. 3.

mento, ac muliebri & delicato ancillarum puerorum-que comitatu. What man, who has ever so little ear, but is sensible on the bare reading of this passage, that the orator affected to employ in this place, long words, consisting of many syllables; and that he crowded them one upon the other, the better to express the multitude of men and women attendants, who were more likely to in-cumber than be of service in a combat?

A second method of order or disposition.

The order I have hitherto been treating of, has no other end, properly speaking, but to please the ear, and to make the oration still more harmonious. There is another kind, by which the orator is more intent upon giving strength than grace and beauty to his discourse. This consists in disposing certain expressions in such a manner, that the oration may grow still more vigorous in its progress; and that the last may be the most energetic, and always add something to those which preceded them. Sometimes, certain words are rejected in the conclusion, which have a particular emphasis, and give the greatest strength to a thought or a description; in order that being separated, as it were, from the rest, and set in a stronger light, they may strike forcibly on the mind. This kind of order is as remarkable as the former, and deserves the utmost attention from masters. I will give two or three examples of these extracted from Cicero, and add Quintilian's reflections, which alone would be sufficient to form our taste, and shew us how to understand and explain authors.

1. ^d *Tu istis faucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate, tantum vini in Hippiae*

^d Philip. 2. n. 63.

nuptiis

nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie. Quintilian weighs every word in this description. *Quid fauces & latera,* says he, *ad ebrietatem? Minimè sunt otiosa.* Nam *respicientes ad hæc possumus æstimare quantum ille vini in Hippiae nuptiis exhauserit, quod ferre & coquere non posset illa gladiatoria corporis firmitate.*

We are sensible enough of the effect which is produced by this disposition of the words, *faucibus, lateribus, gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate,* which rise to the end.

We should not perhaps have taken so much notice of the reason which induced Cicero to repeat the word *postridie*, in the end, if Quintilian had not made us attentive to it. *“Sæpe est vehemens aliquis sensus in verbo: quod si in media parte sententiæ latet, transiri intentione, & obscurari circumjacentibus solet, in clausula positum assignatur auditori & infringitur, quale est illud Ciceronis: Ut tibi necesse esset in conspectu populi Romani vomere postridie. Transfer hoc ultimum, minùs valebit. Nam totius ductûs hic est quasi mucro, ut per se fœdæ vomendi necessitati, jam nihil ultrà expectantibus, hanc quoque adjiceret deformitatem, ut cibus teneri non posset postridie.*

But let us hear Cicero explain his own thought, and plainly point out to us the whole extent of it. *“O rem non modò visu fœdam, sed etiam auditu! Si hoc tibi inter cœnam, in tuis immanibus illis poculis accidisset, quis non turpe duceret? In cœtu verò populi Romani, negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare turpe esset, is vomens frustis esculentis, vinum redolentibus, gremium suum & totum tribunal implevit.* It is obvious, that the last expressions still improve upon the preceding ones. *& Singula incrementum habent. Per se de-*

^c Quint. l. 9. c. 4.

^f Philip. 2. n. 63.

^g Quint. l. 8. c. 4.

forme, vel non in cætu vomere : in cætu etiam non populi : populi etiam non Romani : vel si nullum negotium ageret, vel si non publicum, vel si non magister equitum. Sed alius divideret hæc, & circa singulos gradus moraretur : hic in sublime etiam currit, & ad summum pervenit non nixu, sed impetu. This is a beautiful model for masters to explain by.

But how beautiful soever the Roman orator's description of Anthony's vomiting may be, and whatever precaution he may take to advertise us first of the effect it must produce: *O rem non modo visu fædam, sed etiam auditu :* I do not believe our language, which is so nice and delicate with regard to decency, could bear this detail of circumstances which disgusts and shocks the imagination, and would never bear these words, *vomere, ructare, frustis esculentis.* ^b Here is an opportunity of making youth observe the difference in the genius of languages, and the indisputable advantage which ours has in this respect, over the Greek and Latin.

2. ⁱ *Stetit soleatus prætor populi Romani cum pallio tunicaque talari mulierculâ nixius in littore.* These last words, *in littore*, placed in the close, add a prodigious strength to Cicero's thought, which I will explain in another place, where I endeavour to point out the beauty of this description, and relate Quintilian's admirable exposition of that passage.

3. ^k *Aderat janitor carceris, carnifex prætoris, mors terrorque sociorum & civium Romanorum, liCTOR Sextius.* Whoever should put *liCTOR Sextius* in the beginning, would spoil all : the dreadful apparatus of this executioner must go before him.

^a Perhaps, the custom of reaching voluntarily after meals, (a practice very common in that age) made these expressions not

so distasteful.

ⁱ Verrem, 7. n. 85.

^k Ibid. n. 117.

Whoever

Whoever should throw the members of this period into another order, would destroy all the beauty of the oration¹, which, according to the rules of rhetoric and good sense, must grow more emphatic as it proceeds. Nevertheless, this rule here yields to the delicacy of the ear, which would have been offended had the words been placed thus, *terror morsque sociorum*, according to their natural order, *death* making a stronger impression than *terror*.

ARTICLE the FIFTH.

Of Figures.

FIGURES of rhetoric are certain turns and methods of expression which differ a little from the common and plain way of speaking; and are employed to give more grace and force to an oration. They consist either in the words or the thoughts. I comprize in the former what the rhetoricians call tropes, though there may be some difference in them.

It is of great importance to make youth observe, when they peruse good authors, the use which true eloquence makes of figures; the assistance it draws from them, not only to please, but likewise to persuade and move the affections; and that without them, an oration is weak, and falls into a kind of monotony, and is almost like a body without a soul. Quintilian gives us a just idea of them by a very natural comparison. ^m A

Vo L. II.

M

statue,

¹ Crescere solet oratio verbis omnibus altius atque altius insurgentibus. *Quintil. l. 8. c. 4.*

^m Recti corporis vel minima gratia est. Neque enim adversa

sit facies, & demissa brachia, & juncti pedes, & à summis ad ima rigens opus. Flexus ille, & ut sic dixerim motus, dat actum quandam effectis. Ideo nec ad unum

statue, says he, quite uniform and of a piece from top to bottom, with the head strait upon the shoulders, the arms hanging down, and the feet joined, would have no gracefulness, and would seem to be without motion and lifeless. It is the different attitudes of the feet, the hands, the countenance, and head, which being varied an infinite number of ways, according to the diversity of subjects, communicate a sort of action and motion to the works of art, and give them, as it were, life and soul.

Figures of Words.

“ The metaphor is a figure which substitutes the figurative terms it borrows extraneously, as it were, by a kind of exchange, in the room of proper words which are either wanting, or have not energy enough. Thus *gemma* was called the bud of the vine, there being no word in use proper to express it: *incensus irâ*, *inflammatus furore*, were used instead of *iratus*, *furens*, in order to paint the effect of those passions the better. We see by this, that what was at first invented through necessity, because of the defect or want of proper words, has since contributed towards embellishing of speech ;

unum modum formatæ manus,
& in vultu mille species . . .
Quam quidem gratiam & delectationem afferunt figuræ,
quæque in sensibus, quæque in
verbis sunt. *Quintil. l. 2. c. 14.*

“ Tertius ille modus transferendi verbi latè patet, quem necessitas genuit inopiâ coacta primò & angustiis, post autem delectatio jucunditasque celebravit. Nam ut vestis frigoris depellendi causâ reperta pri-

mò, post adhiberi cœpta est ad ornatum etiam corporis & dignitatem : sic verbi translatio instituta est inopiæ causa, frequentata delectationis
Ergo hæ translationes quasi mutationes sunt, cum, quod non habeas, aliunde sumas. Illæ paulo audaciores, quæ non inopiam indicant, sed orationi splendoris aliquid accersunt.
3. de Orat. n. 155, 156.

much after the same manner as cloaths were at first employed to cover the body, and defend it against the cold, and served afterwards to adorn it. ° Every metaphor then must find a void in that place which it is to fill up, or, at least, (in case it banishes a proper word) must have more force than the word for which it is substituted.

This is one of the figures that gives most ornament, strength and grandeur to an oration; and the reader may have observed in the several passages I have cited, that the most exquisite expressions are generally metaphorical, and generally derive all their merit from that figure. ¶ Indeed, it has the peculiar advantage, according to Quintilian's observation, to shine from its own light in the most celebrated orations, and to be distinguished in them: it enriches a language, in some measure, by a numberless multitude of expressions, by substituting the figurative in the room of the simple or plain; it varies an oration prodigiously; it raises and aggrandizes the most minute and common things; ¶ it gives us great pleasure by the ingenious boldness, with which it goes a great way to search for foreign expressions, instead of the natural ones which are at hand; it deceives the mind agreeably, by shewing

° Metaphora aut vacantem occupare locum debet; aut, si in alienum venit, plus valere eo quod expellit. *Quintil. l. 8. c. 6.*

¶ Ita jucunda atque nitida, ut in oratione quamlibet clara, proprio tamen lumine eluceat. *Quintil. l. 8. c. 6.*

¶ In suorum verborum maxima copia, tamen homines aliena multo magis, si sunt ratione translata, delectant. Id acci-

dere credo, vel quòd ingenii specimen est quoddam transilire ante pedes posita, & alia longè repetita sumere: vel quòd is, qui audit, aliò ducitur cogitatione, neque tamen aberrat, quæ maxima est delectatio. . . . vel quòd omnis translatio, quæ quidem sumpta ratione est, ad sensus ipsos admovetur, maxime oculorum, qui est sensus acerrimus. *Lib. 3. de Orat. z. 159, 160.*

it one thing, and meaning another. In fine, it gives a body, if we may so say, to the most witty things, and makes them almost the objects of hearing and sight by the sensible images it delineates to the imagination.

In order to give an idea of the force of metaphors, great care must be taken to begin always with explaining the plain and natural sense, upon which the figurative is founded, and without which the latter could not be well understood.

The surest and likewise the easiest way to represent the beauty of the metaphor, and, in general, to explain the beautiful passages in authors with justness, is to substitute natural expressions instead of the figurative, and to divest a very bright phrase of all its ornaments, by reducing it to a simple proposition. This was Cicero's method; and what better method can we follow? He explains the force and energy of a metaphorical expression in these verses of an antient poet.

Vive, Ulysses, dum licet :
Oculis postremum lumen radiatum rape.

He performs it thus : *Non dixit cape, non pete ; haberet enim moram sperantis diutius esse sese victurum : sed rape. Hoc verbum est ad id aptatum, quod antè dixerat, dum licet.* Horace uses the same thought.

¶ *Dona præsentis cape lætus horæ.*

An able interpreter asserts, that we must read *rape* instead of *cape*. I am in a doubt whether he is in the right; for the man portrayed by Horace, is one who is free from all care and uneasiness; and by flattering himself with the hopes

¶ Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 162.

¶ Od. 8. l. 3.

of a long life, enjoys peaceably the pleasures which each day offers; and the word *cape* agrees very well with such a condition; whereas, in the ancient poet, Ulysses is exhorted to lay hold of the present moments, for fear they should escape, and be carried away from him by a sudden and unexpected death: *Postremum lumen radiatum rape*. Cicero employed a word like this full as gracefully: *Quo quisque est solertior & ingeniosior, hoc docet iracundius & laboriosius. Quod enim ipse celeriter arripuit: id cum tardè percipi videt, discruciat.* 'Tis enough to observe, that he does not say, *facile didicit*, but *celeriter arripuit*; the difference is very obvious.

When the metaphor is continued, and does not consist in one word, it is called an *Allegory*. *Equidem ceteras tempestates & procellas in illis duntaxat fluctibus concionum semper Miloni putavi esse subeundas.* He might have said plainly, *Equidem multa pericula in populi concionibus semper Miloni putavi esse subeunda.*

"Remember the beginning and progress of the war, which though but a spark in the beginning, now sets all Europe in a flame.

Those clouds which are raised from dislike or suspicion, never appeared in his serene countenance.

His virtues made him known to the publick, and produced that first flower of reputation which spreads an odour * more agreeable than perfumes, over every other part of a celebrated life.

* When we use this figure, we must always

* Pro Quint. Rosc. n. 31.

* M. Fléchier.

* Melius est nomen bonum, quam unguenta pretiosa. *Eccles.* vii. 2.

* Id imprimis est custodiendum, ut quo ex genere co-

peris translationis, hoc definas.

Multi enim, cum initium à tempestate sumpserunt, incendio aut ruina finiunt: quæ est inconsequentia rerum foedissima.

Quintil. lib. 8. cap. 6.

observe to continue the simile, and not fall abruptly from one image to another ; nor, for example, conclude with a conflagration, after we began with a storm. Horace is charged with that error in this line :

Et malè tornatos incudi reddere versus ;

where he joins two ideas widely different, the turning wheel, and the anvil. But some interpreters excuse him. I know not whether Cicero may not be charged with the same fault in this passage of the second book *de Orat.* *Ut cum in sole ambulem, etiam si ob aliam causam ambulem, fieri tamen naturâ ut colorer : sic, cum istos libros ad Misenum studiosius legerim, sentio orationem meam illorum quasi cantu colorari.* How can we reconcile these two words, *cantu* and *colorari* ? and what relation can there be between *cantus* and a piece of writing ?

The *periphrasis* or *circumlocution*. This figure is sometimes absolutely necessary, as when we speak of things which decency will not allow us to express in their own names ; ² *ad requisita naturæ.* ³ Tis often used for ornament only, which is very common with poets ; and sometimes to express a thing the more magnificently, which would otherwise appear very low and mean ; or to cover or soften the harshness of some propositions which would be shocking, if shewn in a naked and plain dress.

I. For Ornament.

* The King, in order to give an immortal testimony of his esteem and friendship for that great general (M. de Turenne) gives an illustrious place to his renowned ashes, among those lords of the

¹ Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 60.

² Sallust.

³ Mascaron.

earth,

earth, who still preserve in the magnificence of their tombs, an image of that of their thrones ; instead of saying simply, gives his ashes a place in the tombs of the Kings.

^b C'est-là ce qui l'emporte aux lieux où naît l'aurore,
Où le Perse est brûlé de l'astre qu'il adore.

Englished.

" 'Tis this transports him to far distant climes,
" Where gay Aurora rises, where the Persian
" Is scorched by the bright planet he adores.

2. To heighten low and common thoughts.

^c This eagle already soared to save herself in the mountains, whose bold and rapid flight had at first frightened our provinces ; that is, the German army. Those brazen thunderbolts which hell invented for the destruction of men, thundered on all sides ; that is, the cannon.

3. To soften harsh expressions.

Cicero finding himself obliged, in his defence of Milo, to acknowledge that his slaves had killed Clodius, does not say, *interfecerunt, jugularunt Clodium* ; but, by making use of a circumlocution, he conceals the horror of this murder under an idea which could not displease the judges, but seemed rather to engage them : ^d *Fecerunt id servi Milonis (dicam enim non derivandi criminis causa, sed ut factum est) neque imperante, neque sciente, neque præsente domino, quod suos quisque servos in tali re facere voluisset.*

When Vibius Virius exhorted the senators of Capua to poison themselves, to prevent their falling alive into the hands of the Romans, he de-

^b Despr.

^c Fléch.

^d Pro Mil. n. 29.

scribes, by an elegant periphrasis, the misfortunes from which this draught would deliver them; and by this figure conceals from them the horror of death, instead of saying, the poison would procure them a sudden one. * *Satiatis vino ciboque poculum idem quod mihi datum fuerit, circumfere-
tur. Ea potio corpus ab cruciatu, animum à con-
tumeliis, oculos, aures, à videndis audiendisque om-
nibus acerbis indignisque quæ manent victos, vindi-
cabit.*

Though Manlius knew very well how odious the bare name of a King was to the Romans, and how likely to spirit them up to rebellion, he endeavoured nevertheless to prevail with them to give him that title. He did it very dexterously, by contenting himself with the title of protector; but insinuating, at the same time, that that of King, which he was very careful not to name, would enable him to do them greater service. † *Ego me patronum profiteor plebis, quod mihi cura mea & fides nomen induit. Vos, si quo insigni magis imperii honorisve nomine vestrum appellabitis ducem, eo utemini potentiore ad obtinenda ea quæ vultis.*

‡ Some have justly taken notice of § certain turns, which the antients employed to soften harsh and shocking propositions. When Themistocles saw Xerxes approaching with a formidable army, he advised the Athenians to quit their city; but he did it in the softest terms, and exhorted them to commit it to the care of the Gods: *Ut urbem apud Deos deponerent; quia durum erat dicere, ut relinquerent.* Another was of opinion, they should melt down the golden statues raised to victory,

* Liv. lib. 26. n. 13.

† Liv. lib. 6. n. 18.

‡ Celebrata apud Græcos c. 2.

§ schemata, per quæ res asperas mollius significant. Quint. l. 9.

to answer the exigencies of war. He went round about, and told them they must make use of the victories. *Et qui victorias aureas in usum belli consulari volebat, ita declinavit, victoriis utendum esse.*

Repetition is a pretty common figure, which has different names, because there are various kinds of it. 'Tis very proper to express lively and violent passions, such as anger and grief for example, which are strongly employed on the same object, and see no other; and therefore often repeat the terms which represent it. Thus Virgil paints Orpheus's grief after the death of Eurydice.

^b TE dulcis conjux : TE solo in littore secum
TE veniente die, TE decedente canebat.

ⁱ Pliny the younger uses the same figure in bewailing the death of Virginius, who had been his tutor, and whom he considered as his father. *Volui tibi multa alia scribere, sed totus animus in hac una contemplatione defixus est. Virginium cogito, Virginium video, Virginium jam vanis imaginibus, recentibus tamen, audio, alloquor, teneo.*

^k Cicero furnishes us with a prodigious number of examples. *Bona, miserum me ! (consumptis enim lacrymis tamen infixus animo hæret dolor) bona inquam, Cn. Pompeii acerbissimæ voci subiecta præconis* ^l *Vivis, & vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam* ^m *Cædebatur virgis in medio foro Messanæ civis Romanus, judices . . . Cum ille imploraret sæpius usurparetque nomen civitatis, crux, crux, inquam, infelici & ærumnoso, qui nunquam istam potestatem viderat, comparabatur.*

^b Lib. 4. Geor. ver. 465.

ⁱ Lib. 2. ep. 1.

^k 2. Philip. n. 64.

^l 1. Catil. n. 1.

^m 7. Verr. n. 161.

This figure is likewise vastly proper for insisting strongly on any proof, or any truth. ^a The elder Pliny would make us sensible of the folly of men, who give themselves so much trouble to secure an establishment in this world; and often take arms against one another, to extend a little the boundaries of their dominions. After representing the whole earth as a small point, and almost indivisible in comparison of the universe; 'Tis there, says he, we are endeavouring to establish and enrich ourselves; 'tis there we would govern and be sovereigns; 'tis that which gives mankind such violent shocks: This is the object of our ambition, the subject of our disputes, the cause of so many bloody wars, even among fellow-citizens and brothers. *Hæc est materia gloriæ nostræ, hæc sedes: hîc honores gerimus, hîc exercemus imperia, hîc opes cupimus, hîc tumultuatur humanum genus: hîc instauramus bella etiam civilia, mutuique cædibus laxiorem facimus terram.* All the vivacity of this passage consists in the repetition, which seems in every member or part to exhibit this little spot of earth, for which men torment themselves so far, as to fight and kill one another, in order to get some little portion of it; and after all, what share have they of it after death? *Quota terrarum parte gaudeat? vel, cum ad mensuram suæ avaritiæ propagaverit, quam tandem portionem ejus defunctus obtineat!*

° Rompez, rompez tout pacte avec l'impïeté . . .
 Daigne, daigne, mon Dieu, sur Mathan & sur elle,
 Répandre cet esprit d'imprudence & d'erreur,
 De la chute des Rois funeste avant-coureur . . .
 Dieu des Juifs, tu l'emportes! . . .
 David, David triomphe. Achab seul est détruit, . .

^a Lib. 2. c. 58.

° Racine.

Englified.

" Your leagues with impious men dissolve, dissolve . . .

" Deign, deign, my God, on Mathan and on her

" To shed the spirit of imprudent error,

" Fatal forerunner of the fall of Kings . . .

" God of the Jews, 'tis thou who dost prevail !

" Great David triumphs. Ahab only, dies . . .

¶ L'argent, l'argent, dit-on : sans lui tout est stérile.

La vertu sans l'argent n'est qu'un meuble inutile.

L'argent en honnête homme érige un scelerat.

L'argent seul au palais peut faire un magistrat.

" 'Tis money, money : this alone is merit.

" Without it, virtue is a useless toy.

" Money proclaims the knave, a man of honour.

" Money, alone, can make a dunce a judge.

¶ Quel carnage de toutes parts !

On égorge à la fois les enfans, les vieillards ;

Et la sœur, & le frere ;

Et la fille, & la mere ;

Le fils dans les bras de son pere.

Englified.

What slaughter's all around us !

The murdering sword kills antient men and children,

The sister and the brother,

The daughter and the mother ;

The son too, clasp'd in his fond father's arms.

To take away the repetition from all these passages, is in reality to divest them of all their beauty, to weaken all their strength, and deprive the passions of the language which is natural to them.

¶ Despreaux.

¶ Racine.

Antithesis,

The Antithesis, Distribution, and such like figures.

Antitheses, when artfully employed, says father Bouhours, are extremely pleasing in works of genius. They have pretty near the same effect in these, that lights and shadows have in painting, when the painter has the art of distributing them judiciously; or that the trebles and basses have in music which an able master knows how to blend together. * *Vicit pudorem libido, timorem audacia, rationem amentia . . .* † *Odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit . . .* * *Christian Generals must be tender and charitable even when their hands are bloody; and inwardly adore the Creator, when they find themselves reduced to the melancholy necessity of destroying his creatures.*

There are other figures which consist chiefly in a certain disposition and relation between words, which being disposed with art and propriety, and with symmetry, as it were, in a particular order, correspond with one another; and sooth the ear and mind agreeably, by this kind of regular and studied harmony.

" Cicero did not neglect that ornament of speech, which some of the antients, as Isocrates, were vastly fond of; and he has shewed the use we ought to make of these figures, by employing them seldom and with moderation; and being always careful to heighten them, by the force and justness of the thoughts, without which they would have very little merit.

* Pro Cluent. n. 15.

† Pro Mur. n. 76.

* Fléchier.

" Delectatus est his etiam M. Tullius; verum & modum ad-

hibuit non ingratae, nisi copia redundet, voluptati; & rem aequi levem, sententiarum pondere implevit. *Quintil.* l. 9. c. 1.

^a Est enim hæc, judices, non scripta, sed nata lex; quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus; ad quam non docti sed facti, non instituti sed imbuti sumus: ut, si vita nostra in aliquas insidias, si in vim, si in tela aut latronum aut inimicorum incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expediendæ salutis . . .

^z Et sine invidia culpa plectatur, & sine culpa invidia ponatur.

^y Seneca is full of these figures. Magnus est ille qui fœtilibus sic utitur, quemadmodum argento: nec ille minor est, qui sic argento utitur, quemadmodum fœtilibus. Infirmi animi est, pati non posse divitias . . . ^z Tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes administras, tam abstinenter quàm alienas, tam diligenter quàm tuas, tam religiosè quàm publicas. In officio amorem consequeris, in quo odium vitare difficile est.

^a A man great in adversity by his courage, and in good fortune by his modesty, in difficulties by his prudence, in danger by his valour, and in religion by his piety.

He only changed virtues, when fortune changed her countenance; happy without pride, unhappy with dignity.

In his youth he had all the prudence of advanced age, and in an advanced age, all the vigour of youth.

^b We easily image to ourselves the ardour and perseverance with which a man of genius applies himself to any study which is his chief pleasure; and a man of virtue who makes it an essential duty.

He possesseth that innocence and simplicity of manners, which we generally preserve when we converse

^a Pro Mil. n. 10.

^z De Brev. vitæ, c. 18.

^z Pro Cluent. n. 5.

^a Fléchier.

^y Senec. Ep. 5.

^b Fonten.

less with men than with books ; and he had nothing of that severity or a certain kind of savage pride with which the commerce of books inspires us, when unaccompanied with that of men.

^c One alone is smitten, and all are delivered. God smites his innocent son for the sake of guilty men ; and pardons guilty men for the sake of his innocent son.

All these thoughts are very just and beautiful in themselves ; but it must be [owned, that the turn and manner in which they are expressed, make them much more graceful. In order to make us more sensible of this, we need only reduce them to a plain and vulgar way of speaking. This I will endeavour to display in the two beautiful passages of Cicero, where this disposition of words, of which we are speaking of, appears in a peculiar manner.

When that great orator, pleading for Ligarius, had told Cæsar, that Princes resemble the Gods in nothing more, than in doing good to men ; he might have barely said, that his fortune and kind disposition procured him that glorious advantage : this is the foundation of the thought. But Cicero expresses it in a much more noble and elegant manner, by observing separately, by a kind of distribution, what he owes to fortune, and what must be ascribed to his natural inclination. The one gives him the power of doing good, the other the will ; and it is in this, that the greatness of his fortune and the excellency of his good nature, consist. ^d *Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus quàm ut possis, nec natura tua melius quàm ut velis conservare quàm plurimos.* All the words here correspond with a surprizing exactness. *Fortuna, natura : majus, melius : possis, velis.* Is it possible to say more in fewer words, or with more beauty ?

^c Bossuet.

^d Pro Lig. n. 38.

The elogium of Roscius the comedian is in the same taste. ^e *Etenim cum artifex ejusmodi sit (Q. Roscius) ut solus dignus videatur esse qui scenam introeat; tum vir ejusmodi est, ut solus videatur dignus, qui eò non accedat.* Cicero makes a noble encomium upon the same Roscius, in another place, which may likewise teach us how the same thought may be turned different ways. ^f *Qui medius fidius (audacter dico) plus fidei quam artis, plus veritatis quam disciplinæ possidet in se: quem populus Romanus meliorem virum quam histrionem esse arbitratur: qui ita dignissimus est scena propter artificium, ut dignissimus sit curia propter abstinentiam.* This double encomium is reduced to this, that Roscius has more of the honest man than the excellent comedian. In how many shapes is this thought represented to us? Can we imagine any thing has more delicacy than the first turn which Cicero gives it? “Roscius is so excellent an actor, “that he alone seems worthy of mounting the “stage; but, on the other hand, he is a man of “so much virtue, that he alone seems unworthy “of ever appearing upon it. The second encomium is as delicate as the former. The last member would perhaps have been more graceful, if a word that ends like *abstinentiam*, had been substituted instead of *artificium*. For one of the principal beauties of the figures we are here treating of, and which consist in a studied and measured order, is, that the words should not only answer one another in sense, but likewise in sound and cadence. *Ita dignissimus est scena propter artis peritiam, ut dignissimus sit curia propter abstinentiam.* But Cicero chose to renounce that minute elegance, rather than enervate the beauty of the sense, by an expression not so proper; and he gives us an

^e Pro Quint. Rosc. n. 78. ^f Pro Quint. Rosc. com. n. 17.

opportunity of adding in this place some reflections of Quintilian, on the use that is to be made of such figures.

^a Since they consist wholly in certain turns, and a certain disposition of words; and that these must be employed only to express the thoughts, it is manifest 'twould be absurd should we apply ourselves entirely to those turns and to that disposition of words, and at the same time neglect the very foundation both of thoughts and of things. But how just soever we may suppose these figures to be, they must however be used sparingly; for the more artful and studied they appear, the affectation is the more observable, and so becomes faulty. ^b To conclude, the nature of the things we treat of must be susceptible of this kind of ornaments. For when it is proposed, for instance, to affect and melt the auditors, to terrify them by a view of the evils which threaten them, to raise a just indignation in them against vice, to employ earnest intreaties; would not an orator be ridiculous, should he attempt to effect this by regular periods, antitheses, and such like figures, which are proper only to distinguish the passions, and to expose the vanity of an orator, who is wholly taken up with himself, and the care of displaying his wit,

^c Sunt qui neglecto rerum pondere & viribus sententiarum, si vel inania verba in hos modos depravarint, summos se judicent artifices, ideoque non desinunt easnectere: quas sine sententia sectari tam est ridiculum, quam quarere habitum gestumque sine corpore. *Quint. l. 9. c. 3.*

Sed ne hæc quidem densandæ sunt nimis. *Ibid.*

^d Sciendum imprimis quid

quisque in orando postulet locus: quid persona, quid tempus. . . . Ubi enim atrocitate, invidia, miseratione pugnandum est, quis ferat contrapositis, & pariter cadentibus, & consimilibus, irascentem, flentem, rogantem: cum in his rebus cura verborum derogat affectibus fidem, & ubicumque ars ostentatur, veritas abesse videatur. *Ibid.*

at a time when he should study nothing but to draw tears from his auditors, and fill them with sensations of fear, anger, or grief.

Figures of Allusion.

I must not conclude this article, which relates to the figures of words, without saying something of those which consist in an affected resemblance, and a kind of a play of words. *Amari jucundum est, si curetur ne quid insit amari. Avium dulcedo ad avium ducit. Ex oratore arator factus.*

ⁱ The bare name of Verres, which in Latin signifies a boar, gave rise to a great many allusions. *Hinc illi homines erant, qui etiam ridiculi inveniebantur ex dolore: quorum alii, ut audistis, negabant mirandum esse, jus tam nequam esse Verrium: alii etiam frigidiores erant, sed quia stomachabantur, ridiculi videbantur esse, cum sacerdotem execrabantur, qui Verrem tam nequam reliquisset;* (the governour of Sicily whom Verres succeeded was called *Sacerdos*.) *Quæ ego non commemorarem (neque enim persacetè dicta, neque porro hac severitate digna sunt) nisi, &c.* ^k *Ex nomine istius quid in provincia facturus esset perridiculi homines augurabantur ad everrendam provinciam venerat.* ^l *Quod unquam, judices, hujusmodi everriculum ulla in provincia fuit?* At the same time that Cicero mentions these puns, he informs us how flat and puerile he found them, by which he teaches youth what judgment they are to form of these; and makes them guard against a vicious taste which young people are but too apt to give into, who imagine that there is some wit in this kind of figures.

ⁱ Verr. 3. n. 2.

^k Verr. 4. n. 18 & 19

^l Ver. 6. n. 53.

But we must not however condemn allusions in general, some being really ingenious, and give a grace to an oration; and they must appear such, when they are judicious, and founded on a solid thought, and a natural resemblance. Cicero had related the equitable and disinterested conduct of Verres in a certain affair; and adds the following reflection. ^m *Est adhuc, id quod vos omnes admirari video, non Verres, sed Q. Mucius. Quid enim facere potuit elegantius ad hominum existimationem? æquius ad levandam mulieris calamitatem? vehementius ad quæstoris libidinem coercendam? Summè hæc omnia mihi videntur esse laudanda. Sed repente è vestigio ex homine, tanquam aliquo Circeò poculo, factus est Verres. Redit ad se, ad mores suos. Nam ex illa pecunia magnam partem ad se vertit: mulieri reddit quantulum visum est.* Methinks this allusion, which is founded on what fiction relates of Circe, who by certain draughts changed men into boars or swine, (which Verres signifies in Latin) is happily and very naturally applied in this place.

ⁿ It appeared by Cicero's examination of the journals of a certain trader in Sicily, that the last five letters of this word *Verrutius*, which were frequently mentioned in those journals, were always obliterated; and that the four first only remained, *Verr*. This was a fictitious name under which Verres concealed himself, to carry on an abominable usury. Cicero produced those journals on the trial; ^o *ut omnes mortales, says he, istius avaritiæ non jam vestigia, sed ipsa cubilia videre possint.* ^p *Videtis Verrutium? videtis primas literas integras? videtis extremam partem nominis, caudam illam Verris, tanquam in luto, demersam esse in litura?* Can any one condemn such a play of words, espe-

^m Verr. 1. n. 57.

^o n. 190.

^p Verr. 4. n. 186, &c.

^p n. 191.

cially on an occasion where the orator thought it was necessary to divert the judges, and at the same time intended to make Verres ridiculous and contemptible?

Sometimes the resemblance between words, or the bare changing a preposition, or the same word used in various significations, produces a kind of beauty which has some merit in it. *¶ Hanc reipublicæ pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse ¶ non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur ¶ Civis bonarum artium, bonarum partium.* One of the antients said of a slave who was robbing in the house, that every thing was open to him : *¶ solum esse cui domi nihil sit nec obsignatum, nec occlusum :* which might likewise be said of a faithful servant in whom we repose an entire confidence.

Figures with regard to thoughts.

I shall only mention some of the most remarkable among these.

The interrogation, apostrophe and exclamation are very common figures, and yet may render an oration more efficacious, lively and affecting.

¶ Usque adeo-ne mori miserum est ? With this tone of voice a man speaks, who is going to battle ; whereas an old man who is sick and near death, would say coldly : *non est usque adeo miserum mori.*

Æneas says, that if a certain event had been regarded, Troy would not have been taken.

¶ Trojaque nunc staes, Priamique arx alta maneres.

¶ 1. Catil. n. 30.

¶ n. 7.

¶ Pro Cæsar. n. 77.

¶ 2. de Orat. n. 248.

¶ Æn. l. 12. v. 646.

¶ Æn. l. 2. v. 56.

This apostrophe makes us feel the great love a good citizen bears to his country. Change a letter, *staret, maneret*, and the sentiment is gone.

Thus Cicero concludes the narrative he made of the punishment of a Roman citizen: * *O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium nostræ civitatis! O lex Porcia, legesque Sempronie! O graviter desiderata, & aliquando reddita plebi Romanæ, tribunitia potestas! Hucine tandem omnia reciderunt, ut civis R. in provincia populi R. in oppido fœderatorum, ab eo qui beneficio populi R. fasces & secures haberet, deligatus in foro virgis caderetur?* These are the just expressions of grief and indignation.

Cicero joins and unites the greatest part of these figures, and adds others to them in a very lively passage. † *Quia enim, Tubero, tuus ille districtus in acie Pharsalica gladius agebat? cujus latus ille mucro petebat? qui sensus erat armorum tuorum? quæ tua mens? oculi? manus? ardor animi? quid cupiebas? quid optabas?* All this is only to declare, that Tubero was present at the battle of Pharsalia, and had fought against Cæsar. But what strength does this thought receive from so many and such lively figures, crowded one upon the other? Do not they seem to insinuate that Tubero's sword fought every where for Cæsar? For Cicero had said immediately before: *contra ipsum Cæsarem est congressus armatus.*

‡ *O Princess! whose destiny is so great and glorious, must you be born in the dominions of those who are the enemies of your house? O eternal God, watch over her! Holy angels, draw your invisible squadrons round her, and guard the cradle of so great, so forlorn a princess.*

§ *Ye gloomy retreats, where shame obliges poverty to shroud herself, how often has she made her*

* Verr. 7. n. 161 & 162.

‡ Bossuet.

† Pro Ligar. n. 9.

§ Fléchier.

consolation and her charity flow even to you; she, who was so strongly affected with your wants and afflictions, and more industrious to conceal her beneficence, than you were to hide your misery.

• O fortuné séjour ! O champs aimés des cieux !
Que pour jamais foulant vos prés délicieux,
Ne puis-je ici fixer ma course vagabonde,
Et connu de vous seul, oublier tout le monde.

Englified.

“ O charming spot ! O fields belov’d by heaven !
“ Why cannot I here fix my roving steps,
“ Wander for ever in your winding shades,
“ And known to you alone, forget the world !
• O rives du Jourdain ! O champs aimés des
cieux !

Sacrés monts, fertiles valées
Par cent miracles signalées !
Du doux pays de nos ayeux
Serons-nous toujours exilées ?

Englified.

“ O banks of Jordan ! fields belov’d by heaven !
“ Sacred mountains, fruitful vallies
“ By miracles immortal made !
“ Must we for ever be exil’d
“ From the delicious country of our fathers ?

Abner having complained that no more miracles were seen ; Joab full of a holy indignation answers him thus :

Et quel tems fut jamais si fertile en miracles ?
Quand Dieu par plus d’effets montra-t-il son pouvoir ?
Auras-tu donc toujours des yeux pour ne point
voir,

Despreaux.

Racine.

Peuple ingrat ? Quoi toujours les plus grandes mer-
veilles,
Sans ébranler ton cœur, fraperont tes oreilles ?

Englified.

“ What age, in miracles, so much abounded ?
“ Where’er did God so bright his power display ?
“ O wilt thou still have eyes, and yet not see !
“ Ungrateful people ! still shall mighty wonders
“ Strike strong thine ear, yet not affect thy heart ?

The prosopopeia is a figure that communicates action and motion to inanimate things ; makes persons speak, whether present or absent, and sometimes even the dead.

’Tis usual with the poets to give indignation and admiration to rivers, trees ; sadness to beasts, &c.

^d Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor.

Pontem indignatus Araxes.

Miraturque novas frondes, & non sua poma.

It tristis arator,

Moerentem abjungens fraterna morte juvenum.

^e Sous de fougueux courriers l’onde écume, & se
plaint . . .

J’entens déjà frémir les deux mers étonnées
De voir leurs flots unis au pié des Pyrénées.

Englified.

“ Beneath the fiery couriers, ocean foams,
“ And vents his plaints . . .
“ I hear, already, the two seas, amaz’d,
“ Tremble for fear, to see their waves united,
“ Under the Pyrenean mountains.

The elder Pliny often paints his descriptions in almost as strong colours as a poet would do. He

† Virgil,

† Despreaux.

describes

describes wonderfully, in a very few words, the grief and shame of a peacock, which having lost its tail sought only to hide itself. ^f *Caudâ amissâ pudibundus ac mærens quærit latebram.* In another place he gives a sensation of joy to the earth, which antiently had seen itself cultivated by victorious plowmen, and broke up with a plowshare decked with laurels: ^g *Gaudente terra vomere laureato, & triumphali aratore.* He says therefore, that the houses where the statues of heroes nobly descended were ranged in order, still triumphed, as it were, after they had changed their sovereigns; and that the walls reproached a coward who dwelt in them, with daily entering a place made sacred by the monuments of the virtue and glory of others. ^h *Triumphabant etiam dominis mutatis ipsæ domus; & erat hæc stimulatio ingens, exprobrantibus tectis quotidie imbellem dominum intrare in alienum triumphum.* This passage was translated by father Bouhours, who being incapable of expressing in French the ingenious brevity of the last thought, *intrare in alienum triumphum*, employed another turn, which indeed is very beautiful but longer, and consequently not so lively.

Cicero employs the same thought, but extends it, as an orator should do: it is when he speaks of the palace of Pompey the Great, which Anthony had seized. He asks the latter, if he thought he was entering his own house, when he entered this porch adorned with the spoils of the enemies, and the prows of the ships taken from them. He afterwards uses the figure we are now speaking of, and says, he pities the very roofs and walls of that unfortunate house, which had neither seen or heard any thing but what was wise and honourable, when Pompey dwelt under them; but is now

^f Lib. 10. c. 20.^g Lib. 18. c. 3.^h Lib. 35. c. 2.

become an obscure retreat for Anthony's debaucheries. ¹ *An tu illa in vestibulo rostra, & hostium spolia cum aspexisti, domum tuam te introire putas? fieri non potest. Quamvis enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es; tamen & te, & tua, & tuos nosti Me quidem miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum. Quid enim unquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, nisi ex optimo more & sanctissima disciplina? Nunc in hujus sedibus pro cubiculis stabula, pro tricliniis popinae sunt.*

This figure, which gives life as it were to inanimate things, adds a prodigious grace and vivacity to orations. When Cicero was pleading for Milo, he observed, that the law of the twelve tables allowed the slaying of a robber in some cases, whence he draws this conclusion: ^k *Quis est qui, quoquo modo quis interfectus sit, puniendum putet, cum videat aliquando gladium nobis ad occidendum hominem ab ipsis porrigi legibus?* He might have said barely, *cum videat licere nobis aliquando per leges hominem occidere.* But instead of that, he transforms the laws into persons, as it were, and represents them as running to the assistance of a man attacked by robbers, and as though they put a sword in his hand to defend himself. He again employs the same figure some lines after: ^l *Silent enim leges inter arma, nec se expectari jubent: cum ei, qui expectare velit, ante injusta poena luenda sit, quam justa repetenda.*

^m At these cries, Jerusalem shed a flood of tears, the arches of the temple shook, the river Jordan was troubled, and all its rivulets echoed the sound of these mournful words: What! is this powerful man who saved the people of Israel, dead?

¹ 2. Philip. n. 68, 69.

^k Pro Mil. n. 9.

^l n. 10.

^m Fléchier.

*Tis well known that victory is naturally cruel, insolent, and impious; but M. Turenne made her gentle, rational, and religious.

Ever since justice has groaned beneath the weight of laws and knotty formalities, and that to ruin one another with chicane, became a trade, Kings were not able to support the fatigue of presiding over them.

Has not her beauty been always guarded by the most scrupulous virtue?

° I will not relate the too happy success of his enterprizes, nor his famous victories, which virtue was ashamed of; nor that long series of prosperity which has astonished the whole world.

¶ Reason guides a man to an entire conviction of the historical proofs of the Christian religion: after which, it delivers and abandons him to another light, which, though not contrary, is yet entirely different from, and infinitely superior to it.

There is another kind of prosopopeia, still more lively and bolder than the first. 'Tis when we address ourselves to inanimate things, or make them speak; or when, instead of relating indirectly the discourses of those in question, we make them deliver these discourses; or lastly, when we even give speech to the dead.

1. To address inanimate things.

After Cicero had given a description of Clodius's death, and ascribed it to a particular providence, he says, even religion and the altars of the Gods were affected with it; and afterwards addresses his discourse to them thus: *Religiones mebercule ipsæ, aræque, cùm illam belluam cadere vi-*

° Bossuet, speaking of Crom-

¶ Fonten.

¶ Pro Mil. n. 85.

derunt,

derunt, commovisse se videntur, & jus in illo suum retinuisse. Vos enim Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque obtestor, vosque Albanorum obrutæ aræ, &c.

* Had it not been for this peace, Flanders ! thou bloody theatre, where so many tragic scenes are exhibited, thou wouldst have encreased the number of our provinces ; and instead of being the unhappy source of our wars, thou wouldst now be the peaceable fruit of our victories.

† Sword of the Lord, what a dreadful stroke is this !

2. To give speech to things inanimate.

* Cicero introduces the country, in one of his invectives against Catiline, and makes it sometimes address Catiline, and sometimes himself. Appius likewise, in his beautiful speech for continuing the siege of Veia, introduces the commonwealth declaring to the soldiers, that since she pays them for the whole year, they ought to serve her for that time. " *An si ad calculos cum respublica vocet, non meritò dicat : Annua æra habes, annuam operam ede ? An tu æquum censes militia semestri solidum te stipendium accipere ?*

3. Speeches put into the mouths of the persons themselves have quite another effect than if they were barely related ; and are very well adapted to raise either indignation or compassion.

'Tis by this figure, that Cicero in his last speech against Verres paints the cruel avarice of a goaler, who set a price on the tears and grief of fathers and mothers ; made them purchase, at a dear rate, the sad consolation of seeing and em-

* Fléchier.

† Bossuet.

* 1. Catil. n. 18 & 27.

† Liv. l. 5. n. 4.

bracing their children ; and exacted money from them, for the favour of killing at one stroke those unhappy victims of Verres's cruelty. * *Aderat janitor carceris, carnifex prætoris, mors terrorque sociorum & civium, liCTOR Sextius, cui ex omni gemitu doloreque certa merces comparabatur. Ut adeas, tantum dabis : ut tibi cibum intro ferre liceat, tantum. Nemo recusabat. Quid, ut uno ictu securis afferam mortem filio tuo, quid dabis ? ne diu crucietur ? ne sæpius feriat ? ne cum sensu doloris aliquo aut cruciatu spiritus auferatur ? Etiam ob hanc causam pecunia liCTORI dabatur. O magnum atque intolerandum dolorem ! O gravem acerbamque fortunam ! Non vitam liberum, sed mortis celeritatem, pretio redimere cogebantur.*

Milo was of a character that would not permit him to descend to mean supplications. Cicero puts a great and noble, and at the same time, a soft and moving speech into his mouth : * *Valeant, inquit, valeant cives mei. Sint incolumes, sint florentes, sint beati. Stet hæc urbs præclara, mihiq; patria charissima, quoquo modo merita de me erit. Tranquilla republica cives mei (quoniam mihi cum illis non licet) sine me ipsi, sed per me tamen, perfruantur. Ego cedam atque abibo, &c.* y The effect of this figure is, to make those persons who are introduced speaking, to be present, as it were, to the auditors ; and to write in such a manner, that we may imagine we see and hear them.

4. The orator goes still farther. He sometimes opens graves, and makes the dead rise out of them, to admonish or reprimand the living. We have

* Verr. 7. n. 117, 118.

* Pro Mil. n. 93.

y Non audire iudex videtur
aliena mala desidentes, sed sen-

sum ac vocem auribus accipere
miserorum, quorum etiam mu-
tus aspectus lachrymas movet.
Quintil. lib. 6. cap. 1.

two fine examples of this figure in * Cicero's plea for Coelius, to which I refer the reader.

At other times, the orator directs his discourse to the dead : * *Great Queen, I gratify your most affectionate wishes, when I celebrate this monarch ; and this heart, which never lived but for him, awakens, though it be dust, and becomes sensible, even under this pall, at the name of so dear a consort.*

^b To make these fictions pleasing, 'tis requisite that the utmost strength of eloquence should be employed, as Quintilian observes ; for things that are extraordinary and incredible, and, as it were, out of nature, don't produce an indifferent effect. They must therefore necessarily either make a very strong impression, because they go beyond the limits of truth, or be looked upon as puerilities, because they are false.

^c The *hypotuposis* is a figure which paints the image of the things we are speaking of, in such lively colours, that we think we see them, instead of hearing them barely related : and in this chiefly consists the force and power of eloquence, which has not authority enough, nor all the success it ought to have, if it only strikes the ear, without moving the imagination, and reaching the heart.

* Pro Coel. n. 33, 36.

^a Bossuet.

^b Magna quædam vis eloquentiæ desideratur. Falsa enim & incredibilia naturâ necesse est aut magis moveant, quia supra verâ sunt ; aut pro vanis accipiantur, quia vera non sunt. *Quintil. lib. 9. c. 2.*

^c *ὑποτύπωσις* dicitur, proposita quædam forma rerum ita expressa verbis, ut cerni potius

videatur, quàm audiri. *Quint. l. 9. c. 2.*

Magna virtus est, res, de quibus loquimur, clarè, atque ut cerni videantur, enuntiare. Non enim satis efficit, neque, ut debet, plenè dominatur oratio, si uique ad aures volet, atque ea sibi iudex, de quibus cognoscit, narrari credit, non exprimi, & oculis mentis ostendi. *Quint. l. 8. c. 3.*

1. These images are sometimes formed with a few words, and are not the least affecting.

^d Virgil paints, in a verse and a half, the consternation of Euryalus's mother the instant she heard of his death :

Miseræ calor ossa reliquit :
Excussi manibus radii, revolutaque pensa.

^e Cicero paints in two lines Verres's anger, or rather madness : *Ipse inflammatus scelere ac furore in forum venit. Ardebant oculi : toto ex ore crudelitas eminebat.*

He elsewhere draws another picture of Verres, still more beautiful, and in as few words, though it does not strike so much at first : as it happens sometimes with pictures, whose beauty is only perceived by the skilful. ^f *Stetit soleatus prætor populi Romani cum pallio purpureo tunicaque talari, muliercula nixus in littore.* Quintilian explains in an admirable manner, the force and energy of that short description. He recites the very words, because they may serve as a model to masters for the better understanding and explaining of authors. ^g *An quisquam, says he, tam procul à concipiendis imaginibus rerum abest, ut cum illa in Verrem legit, stetit soleatus, &c. non solum ipsum os intueri videatur, & locum, & habitum, sed quædam etiam ex iis, quæ dicta non sunt, sibi ipse astruat ? Ego certè mihi cernere videor & vultum, & oculos, & deformes utriusque blanditias, & eorum qui aderant tacitam averfationem ac timidam verecundiam.* If we change some words in Cicero's description, and change the place of others, making it, *stetit Verres in littore . . . , cum muliere colloquens, this*

^d Æn. l. 9. v. 475.

^e In Verr. 7. n. 160.

^f In Verr. 7. n. 85.

^g Quint. l. 8. c. 3.

excellent picture will lose a great part of its vivacity and colouring. The chief beauty consists in painting a Roman prætor in the attitude Cicero represents him, leaning in a careless and indolent manner on a woman. These two words, *muliercula nixus*, are a speaking picture, which presents to the eye and the mind all that Quintilian sees in it. *In littore* reserved for the close, adds the last touch, as we have already observed in another place; and displays the ungovernable licentiousness of Verres, who by appearing in so indecent a posture upon the shore, and before a multitude of spectators, seemed insolently to set all decency and publick decorum at defiance.

Our poets are full of these short and lively descriptions.

h Son courfier écumant sous son maître intrépide,
Nage tout orgueilleux de la main qui le guide.

Englified,

“ His foaming steed, beneath his dauntless rider,
“ Swims, proud of the glorious hand which guides
“ him.

And again,

Quatre bœufs attelés d'un pas tranquille & lent
Promenoient dans Paris le Monarque indolent.

Englified.

“ Four harness'd oxen, with an easy pace,
“ Trowl the lethargic Monarch about Paris.

But nothing is more perfect than the following picture :

La Mollesse oppressée
Dans sa bouche à ce mot sent sa langue glacée,

h Despreaux.

Ec

Et lasse de parler, succombant sous l'effort,
Soupire, étend les bras, ferme l'œil, & s'endort.

Englified.

- “ This word oppresses sloth ;
“ Instant her tongue is frozen in her mouth :
“ Now dead to speech, sinking beneath her efforts ;
“ She stretches, sighs, she shuts her eyes and sleeps.

2. The descriptions I have hitherto given are short, and only exhibit a single object. But there are others of a greater length and more circumstantiated, which resemble those pictures where several figures are represented, all the attitudes of which strike and command our attention. Such is that description of a riotous entertainment, mentioned in an harangue of Cicero which is lost. *Videbar mihi videre alios intrantes, alios autem exeuntes, partim ex vino vacillantes, partim besterna potatione oscitantes. Versabatur inter hos Gallius unguentis oblitus, redimitus coronis. Humus erat immunda, lutulenta vino, coronis languidulis & spinis cooperta piscium.* Quintilian, who preserved this beautiful fragment, displays its beauty and value by a very lively expression, which comprizes the whole. ⁱ *Quid plus videret, qui intrasset ?* He himself gives an excellent description of a town taken by storm and plundered, which deserves to be read. We find a great number of this kind in Cicero, which will not escape the researches of a good master. Our French poets, as well as orators, abound also with a multitude of these.

Josabeth in Racine's *Athaliah*, gives us a wonderful description of the manner in which she saved Joas from the slaughter.

^k Hélas ! l'état horrible où le ciel me l'offrit,
Revient à tout moment effraier mon esprit,

ⁱ Quint. 1. 8. c. 3.

^k Racine,

De princes égorgés la chambre étoit remplie;
 Un poignard à la main l'implacable Athalie
 Au carnage animoit ses barbares soldats.
 Et poursuivoit le cours de ses assassinats.
 Joas laissé pour mort frapa soudain ma vûe.
 Je me figure encore sa nourrice éperdue,
 Qui devant les bourreaux s'étoit jettée en vain,
 Et foible le tenoit renversé sur son sein.
 Je le pris tout sanglant. En baignant son vi-
 sage
 Mes pleurs du sentiment lui rendirent l'usage :
 Et soit fraieur encore, ou pour me caresser,
 De ses bras innocens je me sentis presser.

Englified.

" Alas ! the state in which heav'n gave him to me,
 " Returns each moment to my frightened spirits ;
 " The room was fill'd around with murther'd
 " Princes.
 " Dread Athaliah, with her sword unsheath'd,
 " Rouz'd her barbarian soldiers to the slaughter,
 " And still pursued the series of her murders.
 " Joas, now left as dead ! struck, strong, my sight :
 " Methinks I still behold his weeping nurse,
 " Kneeling, in vain, before the bloody hangmen ;
 " The tender babe upon her breast reclined.
 " I took him, bloody : bathing then his face,
 " My tears at once recall'd his fleeting breath.
 " Whether 'twas fear, or whether to embrace me,
 " I felt him press me with his tender arms.

M. Flechier's description of hospitals may serve
 as a model in this kind. 'Tis in the Queen's fu-
 neral oration. *Let us behold her in these hospitals,*
where she practised her publick acts of mercy ; in
those places, where all the infirmities and accidents
of human life are assembled : where the groans and
complaints of those who suffer, and are in pain, fill
the soul with an importunate sadness ; where the
smell

Smell exhales from the bodies of so many diseased patients, makes those who attend upon them ready to faint away; where we see pain and poverty exercising their fatal empire; and where the image of misery and death strikes almost every sense. It is there that raising herself above the fears and delicacies of human nature, (merely from a charitable view) and to the great danger of her health, she was seen every week drying up the tears of this object; providing for the wants of that; procuring remedies and comforts for the evils of some, and consolations and ease of conscience for others.

These passages are very well adapted to the taste of youth. ¹ We must observe to them, that the most certain way of succeeding in descriptions of this kind, is to consult nature, to study her well, and to take her as a guide; so as that every one being inwardly sensible of the truth of what is spoke, may find within himself the sentiments expressed in the oration. ^m For that purpose we must represent to ourselves, in a lively manner, all the circumstances of the thing to be described, and bring it before us by the strength of our imagination; as though we had been spectators of it. ⁿ And why, says Quintilian, should not

¹ Naturam intueamur, hanc sequamur. Omnis eloquentia circa opera vitæ est: ad se refert quisque quæ audit: & id facillimè accipiunt animi, quod cognoscunt. *Quintil. l. 8. c. 3.*

^m Per quas (*φαντασίας*) imagines rerum absentium ita representantur animo; ut eas cernere oculis ac præsentès habere videamur. Has quisquis bene conceperit, is erit in affectibus potentissimus. Hunc quidam dicunt *ὁ φαντασιώτης*, qui sibi res, voces, actus secun-

dum verum optimè finget. *Quintil. l. 6. cap. 3.*

ⁿ Nam si inter otia animorum, & spes inanes, & velut somnia quædam vigilantium, ita nos hæc de quibus loquimur imagines prosequuntur, ut peregrinari, navigare, præliari, populos alloqui, divitiarum quas non habemus usum videamur disponere, nec cogitare, sed facere: hoc animi vitium ad utilitatem non transferemus? *Ibid.*

the imagination, perform as much for the orator on this occasion, as she does for people, who are addicted to any kind of passions, as, for instance, misers or ambitious men, who in this kind of pleasing dreams, in which they form a thousand chimerical projects of fortune and riches, abandon themselves so much to the object of their darling passion, and are so strongly possessed with it, that they really believe they see and possess it.

Quintilian himself furnishes us with a model of this way of making a description, which I will quote at length, because it shews youth how they must proceed in it, in order to compose well. • *Ut hominem occisum querar, non omnia, quæ in re præsentis accidisse credibile est, in oculis habebō? Non percussor ille subitus erumpet? non expavescet circumventus? exclamabit, vel rogabit, vel fugiet? non ferientem, non concidentem videbo? non animo sanguis, & pallor, & gemitus, extremus denique expirantis hiatus insidet?* This passage seems to be copied from Cicero, who thus describes a like action. • *Nonne vobis hæc, quæ audistis, cernere oculis videmini, Iudices? Non illum miserum ignarum casus sui, redeuntem à cæna videtis? non positas insidias? non impetum repentinum? Non versatur ante oculos vobis in cæde Glaucia? Non adest iste Roscius? non suis manibus in curru collocat Automedontem illum, sui sceleris acerbissimi nefariæque victoriæ nuncium?*

IMAGES.

The last words of the description I have here cited, suggest, that I must now point out to youth in this place one of the most common sources of oratorical beauties, which consists in giving, as it

• Quint. 1. 6. c. 2.

• Pro Rosc. Amer. n. 98.

were, body and reality to the things we are speaking of; and painting them by visible strokes, which may strike the senses, move the imagination, and display a sensible object. This method has some relation to the precedent figure, the hipotyposis, and perhaps is a part of it. *Non suis manibus in curru collocat Autodemonem illum?* These words, *suis manibus*, produce here the effect I am speaking of, and present an image to the mind. The same observation may be made on the two verses above cited.

Un poignard à la main l'implacable Athalie
Au carnage animoit ses barbares soldats.

Englified.

“ Fierce Athaliah, (grasping, quick, a poniard)
“ Rouz’d her barbarian soldiers to the slaughter.

This touch, *with a poniard in her hand*, forms all the vivacity of these lines. The objects we describe may be thus painted a numberless variety of ways, of which I will give several examples, which the reader may apply to the rule I have already given.

¶ *Tendit ad vos virgo vestalis manus supplicēs easdem, quas pro vobis diis immortalibus tendere consuevit Prospicite ne ignis ille æternus, nocturnis Fonteie laboribus vigiliisque servatus, sacerdotis Vestæ lacrymis extinctus esse dicatur.*

¶ *Hæc magnitudo maleficiæ facit, ut, nisi penè manifestum parricidium proferatur, credibile non sit. . . . Penè dicam respersas manus sanguine paterno iudices videant oportet, si tantum facinus, tam immane, tam æcerbum credituri sint.*

¶ *What nation has not felt the effects of his valour; and which of our frontier towns has not served as a theatre to his glory?*

¶ Pro M. Font. n. 37, 38.

¶ Pro Rosc. Amer. n. 68.

¶ Fléchier.

In the tumult and noise of armies, he used to entertain himself with the soft and secret hopes of his solitude. With one hand he fell upon the Amalekites, while the other was lifted up to draw down upon himself the blessings of heaven.

It taught him to lift up his pure, his innocent hands to heaven.

Before he accepted of any post or employment, he would know the duties of it. The first tribunal he ascended, was that of his conscience, there to examine his intentions thoroughly.

When he restored God's worship, in his conquests; and as he was marching upon those ramparts he had a little before demolished, his first homage was his offering to God the laurels he had won, at the foot of his altars which he restored.

I am not afraid of blending her praises with the sacrifice offered for her; and I take from the altar all the incense I burn upon her tomb. . . . Why should I take off the veil which she threw over her actions?

He made it his study to discover truth, through the veils of falsehood and imposture with which human lusts cover it.

Are such truths learnt at court, in the army, under the helmet, and the coat of mail?

You think then, that anxiety and the most deadly sorrows, are not to be hid under royal robes; or that a kingdom is an universal remedy against all evils?

Metbinks I still see that flower falling. Speaking of the death of an infant prince.

When all things submitted to Lewis, and we believed the miraculous times were returning, when walls fell down at the sound of trumpets; the whole nation cast their eyes on the Queen, and thought they saw the thunder which demolished so many cities, fly from her oratory.

! Mascar.

! Bossuet.

With

“ *With a calm and serene aspect, he (Lewis XIV.) formed those thunder-bolts which were heard throughout the world, and those which are still ready to be hurled.*

Pour comble de prospérité

* Il espere (*l'impie*) revivre en sa posterité :

Et d'enfans à sa table une riante troupe

Semble boire avec lui la joie à pleine coupe.

Englified.

“ The wretch, more prosp'rous still,

“ Hopes to revive in his posterity :

“ Fancies his children are conversing with him,

“ And flush'd with joy smile o'er the flowing bowls.

Before I conclude this article, I must observe in general, & that figures ought to be applied with great discernment and prudence. They are as seasoning to an oration, for these raise the style, make us deviate from a vulgar and common way of speaking, prevent the distaste which a tiresome uniformity would occasion ; and then they must be employed sparingly, and with discretion ; for if they are used too often, they lose the grace of variety, which forms their chief merit ; and the more they shine, the more they disgust, and tire, from a vicious affectation, which shews they are not natural, but far-fetched with too much care, and, as it were, forced in.

“ Pelisson.

* Racine.

“ Una in re maximè utilis, ut quotidiani & semper eodem modo formati sermonis fastidium levet, & nos à vulgari dicendi genere defendat. Quo si quis parcè, & cùm res poscet, utetur, velut asperso quodam condimento, jucundior erit. At qui nimium affectaverit,

ipsam illam gratiam varietatis amittet . . . Nam & secretæ & extra vulgarem usum positæ, ideoque magis nobiles, ut novitate aurem excitant, ita copiâ satiant : nec se obvias fuisse dicenti, sed conquisitas, & ex omnibus latebris extractas congestasque declarant. *Quintil.* l. 9. c. 3.

It is not necessary to observe, that some figures are so common and trivial, they have lost all their beauty, especially when they are too long. ^a *Miserum est exturbari fortunis omnibus: miserius est injuriâ. Acerbum est acerbius. Calamitosum est . . . calamitosius. Funestum est . . . funestius. Indignum est . . . indignius. Luëtuosum est . . . luëtuosius. Horribile est . . . horribilius.* The auditor anticipates the answer, and is fatigued with this kind of burthen of a song, which is ever in one strain. The same may be observed of the other figure, which is still more tiresome. ^a *Qui sunt qui fœdera sæpe ruperunt? Carthaginenses. Qui sunt qui in Italia crudele bellum gesserunt? Carthaginenses. Qui sunt, &c. ?*

ARTICLE the SIXTH.

Of oratorial Precautions.

I Here give that name to a certain care which the orator must take not to offend the delicacy of those before, or of whom, he is speaking; and the studied and artful turns which he employs to express some things that would otherwise appear harsh and grating. I call this oratorial precautions, because it contains an art and an address which certainly is adapted to rhetorick, and for that reason deserves the attention of youth. Some examples will render the thing more obvious.

Chrysogonus, Sylla's freed-man, was in such credit with his master, (who was then vastly powerful in the commonwealth) that no lawyer durst plead against him in behalf of Roscius. Cicero only, though very young, had the courage to undertake so ticklish and delicate a cause. ^b He is very careful

^a Pro Quint. n. 95.

^c Cornif. l. 4.

^b Pro Rosc. n. 21, 22, 25, 91, 110, 127.

throughout

throughout the whole speech, to observe in several places, that Sylla was a stranger to all the villanies of his freed-man; that great industry had been used to conceal them from him; that those who would have been able to have informed him of them, were denied all access to him; that, on the whole, it was not surprizing that ^c Sylla, who alone had the care of re-establishing and governing the commonwealth, should be unacquainted or neglect several things, since a great many escaped the knowledge and attention of Jupiter himself in the government of the universe. It is very obvious that such precautions were absolutely necessary.

Cicero, in his pleading, called *Divinatio in Verrem*, is obliged to shew that he is fitter to plead against Verres than Cecilius. ^d Such a cause was to be managed with great address and conduct, to avoid giving offence; for self-praise is always odious, especially when it turns on wit and eloquence. After Cicero had proved that Cecilius has none of the qualifications necessary for a cause of so much importance, he is far from ascribing them to himself: so gross a vanity would have set every body against him. ^e He says only, that he had laboured all his life to acquire them, and that if he was not able to obtain them, notwithstanding his great pains and industry; it is not surprizing that as Cecilius never had any idea of this noble profession, he therefore should be absolutely incapable of it.

When he pleaded for Flaccus, he was to invalidate the testimony of several Greeks, who had

^c N. 131.

^d Intelligo quàm scopuloso difficilique in loco verfer. Nam cum omnis arrogantia odiosa est, tum illa ingenij atque eloquentiæ multo molestissima, n. 36.

^e Fortasse dices: Quid? Ergo

hæc in te sunt omnia? Utinam quidem essent! veruntamen ut esse possent magno studio mihi à pueritia est elaboratum, n. 40.

swore against his client. To do this the more effectually, he attempts to depreciate the nation itself, as not over scrupulous in matters of veracity and sincerity. He does not begin abruptly with so harsh a charge. At first, he sets apart, as it were, a real number of worthy persons, who are far from being carried away with the blind passion of their countrymen. He afterwards gives great encomiums to the whole nation, highly magnifying their genius, abilities, politeness, their taste for arts, and their marvellous talent for eloquence: but he adds, that the Greeks never piqued themselves upon being exact or sincere in their testimonies. *Verum tamen hoc dico de toto genere Græcorum: tribuo illis litteras; do multarum artium disciplinam; non adimo sermonis leporem, ingeniorum acumen, dicendi copiam; denique etiam, si qua sibi alia sumunt, non repugno: testimoniorum religionem & fidem nunquam ista natio coluit, totiusque hujus-ce rei quæ sit vis, quæ auctoritas, quod pondus, ignorant.*

We know Cicero excelled chiefly in moving the passions, and that he often drew tears from the eyes of his auditors, by the soft and affecting speeches he put into the mouths of his clients, in the conclusion of his pleadings. The greatness of soul and noble pride upon which Milo valued himself, deprived his advocate of so powerful a resource. & But Cicero had the art of making even his courage of service towards gaining the favour of the judges; and he himself assumed the character of a petitioner, which he could not give to his client.

The inviolable respect which children owe to their parents, even when they treat them with harshness and injustice, makes some conjunctures very

¹ Pro Placco, n. 9.

& in locum lacrymarum ejus

² Ergo & ille captavit ex illa præstantia animi favorem,

ipse successit. Quintil. l. 6.

c. 1.

difficult, in which they are obliged to speak against their parents; and it is on these occasions that true rhetoric furnishes turns and artful strokes, which give paternal authority to whatever is its due, without losing any of the advantages of the cause. ^b It must then be inculcated, that nothing but indispensable necessity can force, from the mouths of children, complaints which their hearts would suppress; and that even through those complaints, not only a fund of respect may be discovered, but one of love and tenderness also. A fine example of this precept may be seen in the pleading for Cluentius, whom his mother treated with unheard of cruelty.

ⁱ The rule I have now touched upon, regards every inferior who has any just pretensions against a superior, whom he ought to respect and honour.

There are some occasions where interest or decency will not permit us to explain ourselves in express terms ^k, but in which we would, at the same time, insinuate to the judge some things we dare not speak openly. A son, for example, cannot gain his suit without discovering a crime of which his father is guilty. ^l The things themselves, says Quintilian, must lead the judge insensibly to guess at what the parties are unwilling to declare; that, every other motive being laid aside, he may be forced,

^b Hoc illis commune remedium est; si in tota actione æqualiter appareat, non honor modò, sed etiam caritas: præterea causa sit nobis justa sic dicendi; neque id moderatè tantum faciamus, sed etiam necessariò. *Quintil. l. 11. c. 1.*

ⁱ N. 12. & 17.

^k In quo per quandam suspicionem, quod non dicimus, accipi volumus. *Quintil. l. 9. c. 2.*

^l Res ipsæ perducant judicem ad suspicionem, & amoliamur cætera, ut hoc solum superfit: in quo multum etiam affectus juvant, & interrupta silentio dictio, & cunctationes. Sic enim fiet, ut judex quærat illud nescio quid, quod ipse fortasse non crederet, si audiret: & ei, quod à se inventum existimat, credat. *Ibid.*

as it were, to see the only one which remains ; and which the respect for a father hinders him from discovering. And then, the son's speech being suspended and interrupted from time to time, as it were, by an involuntary silence and a lively sensation of tenderness, must display the violence he does himself, to prevent his letting words drop, which the force of truth would seemingly extort from him. By this, the judge is inclined to enquire after that inexpressible something, which he would not perhaps have believed, had it been discovered to him ; but which he now is fully convinced of, believing he had found it by his own enquiry.

There are likewise some persons of so venerable a character and so universal a reputation, that their very names are enough to bear down their adversaries. Such was Cato in his contest with Muræna ; and we cannot make youth too sensible of the surprising art with which ^m Cicero deprived Cato of some part of his authority and credit, by the picture he drew of the sect of the Stoicks, which he turned into ridicule with so much wit and humour, that Cato himself could not avoid laughing at it ; and this, without saying any thing derogatory to his person, which was to be, as it were, sacred to him, and was certainly inaccessible, and not to be injured by any kind of censure.

Was there ever a nicer or more difficult affair than that which Cicero undertook, in opposing the levelling or Agrarian law, for so they called the law which appointed lands to be distributed among the poorest of people ? That law had at all times served the tribunes as a bait to gain the populace,

^m Quàm molli autem articulo tractavit Catonem, cujus naturam summè admiratus, non ipsius vitio, sed stoicæ sectæ,

quibusdam in rebus factam duriorē videri volebat. 2.

11. c. 2.

and to fix them in their interest. It appeared indeed to be very much in their favour, by procuring them repose, and a safe retreat. However, Cicero undertakes to make the people themselves reject it, just after they had chosen him consul with unparalleled marks of distinction. Had he begun with speaking openly against that law, all would have exclaimed against him, and all the people would have risen against him. He was too wise, and too well acquainted with men to act after that manner. It deserves our admiration, to see how long he keeps his auditors in suspense, without letting them discover what party he had taken, or what opinion he would inspire them with. He employs at first all the power of his eloquence, to shew the people the lively sense he had of the very signal favour he had received from them. He carefully heightens all the circumstances of it, which reflected so much honour upon him. He afterwards takes notice of the duties and obligations, which so unanimous a consent of the people in chusing him consul, had laid him under. He declares, that as he is obliged to them for all his honours and dignities, he shall always have the popular interest at heart, not only during the continuance of his office, but during his life. But he takes notice, that the word *popular* requires explanation; and after shewing its various acceptations, after he had discovered the secret intrigues of the tribunes, who concealed their ambitious designs under that plausible name; after he had highly applauded the Gracchi, who were zealous defenders of the Agrarian law, and whose memory, for that reason, was so dear to the Roman people; after he had thus insinuated himself by degrees into the minds of the auditors, and gained them entirely; he does not, however, dare yet attack openly the law in question, but

but contents himself with protesting, that in case the people, after hearing him, don't acknowledge that this law, under a deceitful outside, gives in effect a blow to their quiet and their liberty, he then will join them, and submit to their opinion. This is a perfect model of what we call an *insinuatory exordium* in the schools; and methinks one such passage as this is sufficient for forming the understanding of youth, and teaching them the dextrous and respectful way of combatting the opinions of those who are not to be thwarted directly on the score of acknowledgment and submission. This discourse had all the effect which was expected from it; and the people being undeceived by the eloquent discourse of their consul, repealed the Agrarian law.

The passage in Cicero's oration for Ligarius, where an enquiry is made what people ought to think of Pompey's party, required to be handled with great nicety. Tubero had declared those to be criminal who bore arms against Cæsar. Cicero heightens and condemns the harshness of that expression; and after recapitulating the different names given to the conduct of those who had declared for Pompey, as error, fear, lust, passion, prepossession, intoxication, rashness: "For my part, says he, if people ask me, what is the proper and true name which ought to be given to our unhappiness, methinks 'tis a fatal influence that has blinded men, and forced them along, in spite of all their endeavours to the contrary; so that we must not wonder to see the unsurmountable will of the Gods prevail over the counsels of men." *Ac mihi quidem, si proprium & verum nomen nostri mali quærat, fatalis quædam calamitas incidisse videtur, & improvidas*

^a Pro Ligar. n. 171.

hominum mentes occupavisse : ut nemo mirari debeat, humana consilia divina necessitate esse superata. There was nothing in this definition injurious to Pompey's party ; and so far from offending Cæsar, it pleased him very much.

Such of our writers as have treated of the last civil wars which infested France, seem to have had the abovementioned passage of Cicero in their eye ; but then they have very much improved upon the original.

° *Alas, unhappy France ! though thou gottest rid of that enemy, were there not still enough remaining, without turning thine arms against thyself ? What fatal influence could induce thee to shed so much blood ? Why cannot we obliterate those melancholy years from history, and keep them from the knowledge of our posterity ? But since 'tis impossible to pass over things, upon which so much blood has made too strong an impression, let us reveal them at least, like that artful painter who invented the profile, in order to conceal the blemishes in a face. Let us remove from our sight that eclipse, that fatal night, which being formed in the confusion of publick affairs by so many different interests, made even those go astray who sought for the right path.*

P Do you, gentlemen, remember that period of disorder and confusion, when the gloomy spirit of discord confounded justice and right with passion, duty with interest, the good cause with the bad ; when most of the brightest stars suffered some eclipse, and the most faithful subjects saw themselves involuntarily drawn away by the torrent of parties, like those pilots, who finding themselves surprised by a storm in the midst of the ocean, are obliged to change their course, and abandon themselves for a time to the

° Mascar, M. de Turenne's funeral oration.

P Flebier, in M. Turenne's funeral oration.

winds and the tempest? Such is God's justice; such is the natural infirmity of men: but the wise man easily recovers himself, and there is both in politics and in religion, a kind of repentance more glorious than innocence itself, which makes an advantageous reparation for a small frailty by extraordinary virtues, and a continual fervor.

What shall I say? God suffered the winds and waves to roar and toss, and the storm arose. A pestiferous air of factions and insurrections won the heart of the state, and extended itself to the most distant parts. The passions which our sins had kindled, broke the fences of justice and reason; and the wisest men being drawn away by the unhappiness of engagements and conjunctures, against their own inclinations, found they had strayed beyond the bounds of their duty, before they perceived it.

ARTICLE the SEVENTH.

Of the Passions.

I Should be unreasonably tedious, did I undertake to touch even but cursorily all that concerns this subject, it being one of the most important in rhetoric. 'Tis known that the passions are, as it were, the soul of an oration: that 'tis they give it an impetuosity and vehemence, which carry away every thing; and that the orator, by their means, governs his auditors at pleasure, and

^a *M. Flechier, in M. de Teller's funeral oration.*

^r *Tantam vim habet illa, quæ rectè à bono poeta dicta est flexanima atque omnium regina rerum oratio, ut non modò*

inclinantem erigere, aut stantem inclinare, sed etiam adversantem & repugnantem, ut imperator bonus ac fortis, capere possit. Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 187.

inspires

inspires them with whatever sentiments he pleases ; sometimes by artfully taking advantage of the bias and favourable disposition of people's minds, but at other times in surmounting all their opposition by the victorious strength of the oration, and obliging them to surrender, as it were, in spite of themselves. Cæsar was not able to resist, when he heard Cicero's defence of Ligarius, though he was much upon his guard against his eloquence ; being determined, when he came out of his own house, not to pardon the latter.

I think it sufficient to refer youth to Cicero's * per-orations, and to exhort them to make the application themselves of the excellent precepts left us by Cicero and Quintilian on this subject. ' The most important of all is, that in order to affect others, we must be affected ourselves ; for which end, we must penetrate into the subject we treat of, be fully convinced of it, and be sensible of its whole truth and importance. We must likewise form a strong representation to ourselves of the things we would make use of, to move the passions of the auditors, by lively and touching pictures ; and such they will be, if we are careful in studying nature, and take her always for a guide. ' For whence comes it that we see ignorant persons

* *Conclusions of a speech.*

† Summa circum movendos affectus in hoc posita est, ut moveamur ipsi Primum est ut apud nos valeant ea quæ valere apud judicem volumus, afficiamurque antequam afficere conemur Ubi miseratione opus erit, nobis ea de quibus querimus, accidisse credamus, atque id animo nostro persuadeamus. Nos illi simus, quos gravia, indigna, tristia passos

queramur. Nec agamus rem quasi alienam, sed assumamus parumper illum dolorem. Ita dicemus, quæ in simili nostro casu dicturi essemus. *Q. l. 6. c. 3.*

† Quid enim aliud est causæ, ut lugentes utique in recenti dolore disertissimè quædam exclamare videantur, & ira nonnunquam indoctis quoque eloquentiam faciat, quàm quòd illis inest vis mentis, & veritas ipsa morum? *Ibid.*

express

express themselves with so much eloquence, in the first fallies of their grief or anger, except 'tis because those sensations are not studied or fictitious, but drawn from truth and nature itself.

" An Athenian having intreated Demosthenes to plead for him against a citizen, from whom he pretended to have received a great affront; and as he was giving a relation of this pretended ill usage with a cold and sedate tone of voice, without passion or warmth: Not a word of this is true, says Demosthenes; you have not been ill treated as you say you were. How! replies the other, raising his voice, and seeming in a great passion: Have not I been ill treated, have not I been affronted? Upon hearing this tone of voice, Demosthenes found out the truth, and undertook the cause. * Cicero relates something like this of an orator named Callidius, against whom he pleaded? What! says he, if it were true that a design was formed against your life, as you pretend, would you speak of an attempt of this kind with such a languid careless air, which, so far from moving the passions of your auditors, is fit only to lull them asleep? Is that the language of grief and indignation, which put lively and animated complaints into the mouths even of children? These two examples shew that we must be moved ourselves, if we would move others, and feel the same emotions in our own breasts, with which we would inspire others. * *Si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi.*

" Plut. in Vit. Demosth.

" Hoc ipsum posuit pro argumento, quod ille tam solutè egisset, tam leniter, tam oscitantè. Tu isthuc, M. Callidi, nisi fingeres, sic ageres? Ubi dolor? ubi ardor animi, qui etiam ex infantium inge-

niis elicere voces & querelas solet? Nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis Itaque tantum absuit ut inflammare nostros animos: somnum isto loco vix tenebamus. *Brut. n.* 277, 278.

* Horat.

1 The per-oration, is the proper place for the passions. It is there the orator displays all that is powerful, tender and moving in eloquence, according to the importance and nature of affairs, in order to compleat his conquest over the hearts of the auditors, and to extort their consent.

Sometimes he does not stay till the conclusion, to raise the passions in this manner; but places them after every narrative, when the cause comprehends several of them; or after every part of the narrative, when it is too long; or, lastly, after the proof of every fact, and it is that we call amplification. The invectives against Verres furnish a great many examples of this kind.

The orator likewise moves the passions in the other parts of the oration, 2 but more concisely, and with much greater caution and reservedness.

^a *Omnes hos affectus --- aliter quoque partes recipiunt se breviores.* And this is what Anthony observed with such success in his fine oration for Norbanus: ^b *Ut tu illa omnia odio, invidia, misericordia miscuisti!* says Sulpicius, after he had run through and pointed out the whole series, and all the several parts of the oration.

“ ^c I wonder at those, says Quintilian, who
“ pretend that the passions are not to be raised in
“ narration. If they mean only by this, that we
“ are not to dwell long upon them, as is practised
“ in the per-oration, they are in the right;
“ for there we must avoid prolixity. But I
“ do not see the reason why endeavours should
“ not be used to affect the judges while the orator
“ is informing them of the state of the case,

¹ Quint. l. 6. c. 1.

^a Ibid.

² Degustanda hæc (misericordia) procemio, non consumenda.

^b Cic. lib. de Orat. n. 203.

Quintil. l. 4. c. 1.

^c Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

“ since if we have then been able to inspire them
 “ with some sensations of anger or compassion,
 “ they will be much better disposed to receive and
 “ relish the proofs. ^d Cicero used this method in
 “ describing the punishment of a ^e Roman citi-
 “ zen, and in relating in another place, the cruelty
 “ of Verres to Philodamus. *Quid? Philodami*
casum nonne per totam expositionem incendit invi-
dia? (words that shew the whole narration is mov-
 ing and pathetick.) “ Indeed, ^f to wait till the
 “ end of the oration, in order to draw compas-
 “ sion for things which we had related with dry
 “ eyes, is a little too late. A relation of grave
 and moving subjects would be very imperfect, if
 it were not lively and passionate.

^g The passage relating to Gavius's punishment
 in the last invective against Verres, would alone
 be sufficient to justify the rules we have now laid
 down. ^h After Cicero had prepared for the fact
 by a kind of exordium which is very vehement,
ⁱ and related the manner of, and the reason why,
 Gavius was carried to Messina before ^k Verres, he
 comes to the description of the punishment. He
 insists at first upon these two circumstances, *viz.*
 whipping a Roman citizen in the middle of the
 Forum at Messina, and fixing him on a cross.
 These circumstances are not related coldly or with-
 out passion, but after a very lively and moving
 manner, *Cædebatur virgis in medio foro Messanæ*
civis Romanus, judices, cum interea nullus gemitus,
nulla vox alia illius miseri inter dolorem crepitumque
plagarum audiebatur, nisi hæc: civis Romanus
sum. Hac se commemoratione civitatis omnia ver-

^a Verr. 7. n. 171.

^g N. 157, 171.

^e Verr. 3. n. 76.

^h N. 157, 158.

^f *Scrum est advocare his re-*
bus affectum, quas securus nar-
raveris.

ⁱ N. 159.

^k N. 160, 161.

bera depulsurum, cruciatumque à corpore dejecturum arbitrabatur. Is non modò hoc noc. perfecit, ut virgarum vim deprecaretur : sed, cum imploraret sepius usurparetque nomen civitatis, crux, crux, inquam, infelici & ærumnoso, qui nunquam istam potestatem viderat, comparabatur.

This narrative, which is very pathetick in itself, is followed by the amplification,¹ in which Cicero, with his usual eloquence, displays all the indignity of this ill usage of Gavius. *O nomen dulce libertatis ! O jus eximium nostræ civitatis ! &c.*

^m He relates one of the last circumstances of the execution, and reproaches Verres with having industriously made choice, for putting a Roman citizen to death, of a place, from whence the unhappy wretch might, as he was dying, see Italy from the top of the gallows : *Ut ille, qui se civem Romanum diceret, ex cruce Italiam cernere, ac domum suam prospicere posset.* This thought, which is very moving, though expressed in two lines, is immediately after enlarged and explained. *Italia conspectus ad eam rem ab isto electus est, ut ille in dolore cruciatuque moriens, perangusto freto divisa servitutis ac libertatis jura cognosceret ; Italia autem alumnum suum extremo summoque supplicio affectum videret.*

ⁿ The amplification follows of course, and it represents that circumstance in the most glaring light possible. *Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum, &c.*

^o In fine, Cicero concludes all this passage with a figure equally bold and pathetic ; and by a concluding reflection which affects all the citizens, and seems to be a kind of epilogue, by saying that if he should speak in a desert, the hardest rocks would be moved with the relation of so un-

¹ n. 161, 167.

^m n. 168.

ⁿ n. 169.

^o n. 170, 171.

worthy a treatment. How much more reason then have the senators and judges to be affected, who, by their condition and stations, are the protectors of the laws and defenders of the Roman liberty? *Si in aliqua desertissima solitudine ad saxa & scopulos hæc conqueri & deplorare vellem, tamen omnia muta atque inanima tanta & tam indigna rerum atrocitate commoverentur, &c.*

This is a perfect model of the manner how a narration may be vehement, either in the relation itself, or by the reflections which follow it.

A kind of chance furnished Crassus instantaneously with a very lively and vehement turn of eloquence. Cicero has preserved it in his second book *de Oratore*. Whilst Crassus was pleading against Brutus; the funeral of a Roman lady, who was related to the latter, came into the Forum, where 'tis known that orators used to harangue. Upon this, he discontinued his oration, and says to Brutus: "What news would you have this lady carry to your father? What would you have her say to those famous Romans, whose images are carried with this funeral; to your ancestors, to that Brutus who delivered the people from kingly government? What shall she tell them you are employed in? upon

Quas tragoedias egit idem (Crassus) cum casu in eadem causa cum funere efferretur anus Junia! Pro, Dii immortales, quæ fuit illa, quanta vis? quàm inexpectata? quàm repentina? cum, coniectis oculis, gestu omni imminente, summa gravitate & celeritate verborum: Brute, quid sedes? Quid illam anum patri nuntiare vis tuo? quid illis omnibus, quorum imagines duci vides? quid

majoribus tuis? quid L. Bruto, qui hunc populum dominatæ regio liberavit? quid te facere? cui rei, cui gloriæ, cui virtuti studere? Patrimonio-ne augendo, &c. Tu lucem aspicere audes? tu hos intueri? Tu in foro, tu in urbe, tu in civium esse conspectu? tu illam mortuam, tu imagines ipsas non perhorrescis? 2. *de Orat.* n. 225, 226.

“ what

“ what celebrated action, what virtue ; on what kind
 “ of glory shall she tell them you value yourself ?”
 And after he had made a long catalogue of all his
 faults : “ Can you still, says he, after all this,
 “ bear the light of the sun ? Shew yourself in
 “ the city : Appear before your fellow-citizens :
 “ Ought not the very sight of this corpse and
 “ these images, which seem to reproach you with
 “ all your extravagancies, fill you with fear and
 “ horror ?”

Sometimes only a turn or a sentiment thrown
 into a speech, produce this effect. Cicero, in the
 short narrative he made in pleading for Ligarius,
 might, according to Quintilian's observation, be
 satisfied with saying : *¶ Tum Ligarius nullo se im-*
plicari negotio passus est. *¶* But he joins an image
 to it which makes the narrative more probable and
 moving. *Tum Ligarius domum spectans Et ad*
suos redire cupiens nullo se implicari negotio passus
est.

¶ Virgil, in less than a single verse, gives a
 very moving description of the death of a young
 man, who had left Argos, the place of his birth,
 in order to attach himself to Evander.

Et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos.

* This tender regard of a dying young man for
 his country, which he should never see more, and
 this melancholy remembrance of what was most
 delightful and dearest to him in the world, form
 a beautiful picture in three words : *dulces*
reminiscitur moriens.

¶ Pro Ligar. n. 3.

¶ Ita, quod exponebat, &
 ratione fecit credibile, & af-
 fectus quoque implevit. Quint.
 4. 4. c. 2.

¶ Æneid. lib. 11. v. 782.

¶ Quid ? Non idem poeta
 penitus ultimi fati cepit ima-
 ginem, ut diceret, *Et dulces*
moriens reminiscitur Argos ? Ibid.

These passages are very moving, because the images they express awaken a sensation of love and tenderness for one's country, which every man bears in his heart; and they have a nearer relation to that kind of emotions we are going to speak of.

Besides this first species of the strongest and most violent passions, which the rhetoricians call *πάθος*, there is another sort they call *ἥθος*, which consists in softer and more insinuating sensations, which yet are not therefore less moving or lively, the effect of which is not to overthrow and carry away

Affectus igitur hos concitatos, illos mites atque compositos esse dixerunt: in altero vehementer commotos, in altero lenes: denique hos impetare illos persuadere: hos ad perturbationem, illos ad benevolentiam prævalere. *Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.*

Hθος, id erit, quod ante omnia bonitate commendabitur: non solum mite ac placidum, sed plerumque blandum & humanum & audientibus amabile atque jucundum. In quo exprimendo summa virtus ea est, ut fluere omnia ex natura rerum hominumque videantur, quo mores dicentis ex oratione pelluceant & quodammodo agnoscantur. Quod est sine dubio inter conjunctas maximè personas, quoties perferimus, ignoscimus, satisfacimus, monemus, procul ab ira, procul ab odio. . . Hoc omne bonum & comem virum poscit, *Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.*

Duo sunt, quæ bene tractata ab oratore admirabilem elo-

quentiam faciant: quorum alterum est quod Græci *ἥθους* vocant, ad naturam, & ad mores, & ad omnem vitæ consuetudinem accommodatum: alterum quod iidem *παθῆσις* nominant, quo perturbantur animi & concitantur, in quo uno regnat oratio. Illud superius come, jucundum, ad benevolentiam conciliandam comparatum; hoc, vehemens, incensum, incitatum, quo causæ eripiuntur: quod cum rapidè fertur, sustineri nullo pacto potest. *Orat. n. 128.*

Non semper fortis oratio quæritur, sed sæpe placida, summissa, lenis, quæ maximè commendat reos. . . . Horum igitur exprimere mores oratione, justos, integros, religiosos, timidos, perferentes injuriarum, mirum quiddam valet: & hoc vel in principiis, vel in re narranda, vel in perorando tantam habet vim, si est suaviter & cum sensu tractatum, ut sæpe plus quàm causa valeat. Tantum autem efficitur sensu quodam

away every thing, as it were, by main force ; but to affect and soften them, by insinuating itself gently into the most inward recesses of the auditors hearts. These passions are found among those who are joined by some strict union ; a Prince and his subjects, a father and his children, a tutor and his pupils, a benefactor, and those who receive the effects of his beneficence. Those passions are likewise for superiors who have been injured, in a certain character of softness, goodness, humanity, and patience, which is without gall and bitterness ; can bear injuries, and forget them, and which can't resist prayers and tears : and for others, in an uneasiness of discovering their faults, acknowledging them, testifying their grief for them, humbling and submitting themselves, and giving all the satisfaction that can be desired. All this must be done after a plain and natural manner, without study and affectation ; the air, the outward behaviour, the gesture, tone of voice, style, and every thing, must breathe something inexpressibly soft and tender, which proceeds from the heart, and goes directly to it. The manners of the person who speaks, must paint themselves in his discourse without his observing it. 'Tis well known, that nothing is more amiable than such a character, not only for eloquence, but in the ordinary commerce of life ; and we cannot prompt youth too much to be attentive to it, to study and imitate it.

* We find a beautiful example of this in a homily of St. John Chrysostom to the people of An-

dam ac ratione dicendi : ut leni facilitateque significandi, quasi mores orationis effingat efficitur ut probi, ut bene moratio. Genere enim quodam rati, ut boni viri esse videantur. 2. de Orat. n. 183, 184. rum, adhibita etiam actione * Homil. 20.

rioch. As this passage is very eloquent, and very fit to form the taste of youth, suffer me to expatiate a little more upon it, than perhaps the matter I am now discussing requires ; and to make a kind of an analysis and epitome of it.

The Emperor Theodosius had sent some officers and soldiers to Antioch, in order to punish that rebellious city for a sedition, in which his own statues and those of his deceased consort Flaccilla, were thrown down. Flavian, Bishop of Antioch, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, notwithstanding his very advanced age, and though his sister was dying when he left her, set out immediately to implore that Prince's clemency in favour of his people. Being come to the palace, and admitted into the Emperor's presence, he no sooner perceived that Prince, but he stopt at a distance, with down-cast eyes, shedding tears, covering his face, and standing silent as though himself had been guilty. This is an artful exordium, and this silence is infinitely more eloquent than all the expressions he could use. And indeed St. Chrysostom observes, that by this mournful and pathetick exterior, his design was to prepare the way for his oration, and to insinuate himself into the Emperor's heart insensibly, in order that sensations of gentleness and compassion which his cause required, might succeed to those of anger and vengeance.

The Emperor seeing him in this condition, did not employ any harsh reproaches, which Flavian might naturally expect. He did not say to him : What ! are you come to crave pardon for rebels, for ungrateful wretches, for a people unworthy of life, and who merit death ? But assuming a soft tone of voice, he made a long enumeration of all the good offices he had done the city of Antioch ; and upon mentioning every one of those favours, he adds ; Is this the acknowledgment I was to expect ?

expect? What cause of complaint had its citizens against me? What injury had I done them? But why should they extend their insolence even to the dead? Had they received any wrong from them? What tenderness did I not shew for their city? Is it not notorious, that I loved it more than my own country, and that it gave me the greatest pleasure to think I should soon be in a condition of taking a journey to see it?

Then the holy bishop, being unable to bear such moving reproaches any longer, says with deep sighs: It is true, Sir, the goodness you have indulged us, could not be carried higher, which enhances our crime and our grief: whatever punishment you may inflict upon us, it will still fall short of what we deserve. Alas! the condition in which we are at this time, is a punishment cruel enough for us. What! shall the whole earth know our ingratitude?

If the barbarians had demolished our city, it would still have had a resource and some hopes, whilst it had you for a protector. But to whom shall it now have recourse, since it has made itself unworthy of your protection?

The envy of the devil, jealous of her happiness, has plunged her into this abyfs of evils out of which you alone can draw her. I dare say it, Sir; it is your very affection that has brought them upon us, by exciting the jealousy of that wicked spirit against us. But, like God himself, you may draw infinite good out of the evil which Satan intended against us.

Your clemency on this occasion will be more honourable to you than your most celebrated victories. Your statues have been thrown down. If you pardon this crime, we will raise others in your honour, not of marble or brass, which time destroys, but such as will exist eternally in the hearts

hearts of all those who will hear of this action.

He afterwards proposed the example of Constantine to him, who being importuned by his courtiers to display his vengeance on some seditious people who had disfigured his statues, by throwing stones at them, did nothing more than stroke his face with his hand, and told them smiling, that he did not feel himself hurt.

He sets before him his own clemency, and puts him in mind of one of his own laws, in which, after having ordered the prisons to be opened, and the criminals to be pardoned at the feast of Easter, he added this memorable saying ; *Would to God, I were able in the same manner to open the graves, and restore the dead to life !* That time is come, Sir, you can now do it, &c.

He interests the honour of religion in the affair. All the Jews and Heathens, says he, have their eyes upon you, and are waiting for the judgment you will pronounce. If it is favourable to us, they will be filled with admiration, and cry out, Surely the God of the Christians must be very powerful ! He checks the anger of those who acknowledge no master upon earth, and who can transform men into angels.

After he had answered the objection that might be made with regard to the unhappy consequences which were to be feared, if this crime should escape with impunity ; and likewise demonstrated, that Theodosius by such a rare example of clemency might edify the whole earth, and instruct all future ages, he proceeds thus :

It will be infinitely glorious to you, Sir, to have granted this pardon at the request of a minister of the Lord ; and mankind will see that without considering the unworthiness of the ambassador, you respected nothing in him but the power of the Master who sent him.

For

For it is not only in the name of the inhabitants of Antioch that I appear in this place, I am come from the sovereign Lord of men and angels to declare to you, that if you pardon men their faults, the heavenly Father will pardon yours. Call to mind, great Prince, that tremendous day, when you will appear before the King of Kings, to give an account of your actions. You are going to pronounce your own sentence. Other ambassadors use to display magnificent presents before the Princes to whom they were sent: as for me, I offer nothing to your Majesty but the holy book of the Gospels; and I dare exhort you to imitate your Master, who does good every day to those who insult him.

He at length concludes his discourse, by assuring the Emperor, that if he refused that unfortunate city the pardon she sued for, he would never return to it, nor ever consider that city as his country, which the mildest Prince upon earth looks upon with indignation, and could not prevail with himself to pardon.

Theodosius was not able to resist the force of this speech. He could scarce suppress his tears, and dissembling the emotion he was in, as much as possible, he spoke these few words to the Patriarch: If Jesus Christ, God as he is, was willing to pardon the men who crucified him, ought I to make any difficulty to pardon my subjects who have offended me, I who am but a mortal man like them, and a servant of the same Master? Upon this Flavian prostrated himself, wishing him all the prosperity he deserved for this noble action. And as that prelate expressed a desire of passing the feast of Easter at Constantinople: Go, father, says Theodosius, embracing him, and do not delay one moment the consolation which your people will receive by your return, and the assurances
you

you will give of the pardon I grant them. I know they are still grieved and afraid. Go then, and carry the pardon of their crime for the feast of Easter. Pray that God may bless my arms, and be assured, that after this war, I will go in person and comfort the city of Antioch.

The holy prelate set out immediately; and to hasten the joy of the citizens, he dispatched a more expeditious courier than himself, who freed the city from its uneasiness and alarms.

I once more beg pardon for the length of this kind of digression. I imagined that the extract of this eloquent homily, might be as useful to youth, as any passage in profane authors. There would be room for many reflections, especially on two characters, which though seemingly incompatible, are reunited, however, in Flavian's oration; the humility and dejectedness of a petitioner, the magnificence and greatness of a bishop; but which are so modified, that they mutually assist each other. We at first behold the bishop trembling, intreating, and, as it were, lying down at the Emperor's feet. But afterwards, towards the end of the discourse, he appears invested with all the splendor and majesty of the Lord, whose minister he is. He commands, he threatens, he intimidates; but still humble in his elevation. But I will content myself with the reflection which arises naturally from the subject that gave me occasion to relate this story. Methinks these two discourses of Flavian and Theodosius, may be proposed as an excellent model in this species of soft and tender passions. I do by that not pretend to exclude from thence the strong and violent ones which are sometimes intermixt with them; but, if I am not mistaken, the former are predominant.



SECTION III.

OF THE ELOQUENCE OF THE BAR.

THE rules I have hitherto given upon eloquence, being for the most part borrowed from Cicero and Quintilian, who applied themselves chiefly in forming orators for the bar, they might be sufficient for such young gentlemen as are designed for that honourable profession. I thought however that I was obliged to add some more particular reflections, which may serve them as guides, to point out to them the paths they are to follow. I will first examine what models must be proposed to form the style suitable to the bar. I will afterwards speak of the means which youth may employ, to prepare themselves for pleading. And I will conclude with collecting some of Quintilian's finest observations upon the morals and character of pleaders.

ARTICLE I.

Of the models of Eloquence proper for the Bar.

HAD we the harangues and pleadings of the great number of able orators, who for some years have made the French bar so famous, and of those who still appear at it with so much lustre, we should be able to find in them certain rules and perfect models of eloquence. But the few performances we have of this kind, oblige us to have recourse to the source itself; and to search in Athens

Athens and Rome for those things which the modesty of our orators (perhaps excessive in this respect) does not permit us to find at home.

Demosthenes and Cicero, by the consent of all ages, and of all the learned, have been the most distinguished for the eloquence of the bar; and consequently, their style may be proposed to youth, as a model they may safely imitate. It would be necessary, for that purpose, to make them well acquainted with it, to be careful in observing the character, and to make them sensible of the differences in it; but this cannot be done without reading and examining their works. Those of Cicero are in every one's hands, and therefore well enough known. But 'tis not so with Demosthenes's orations; and in an age so learned and polite as ours, it must seem astonishing, that since Greece has been always considered as the first and most perfect school of eloquence; and for forming a good taste, yet we should be so careless, especially with regard to the bar, in consulting the great masters she gave us in that kind; and that in case it was not thought necessary to bestow much time upon their excellent lessons, that we should not, at least, have the curiosity to take even a cursory view of them; and hear them, as it were, at a distance, in order to examine ourselves if it be true that the eloquence of those famous orators is as marvellous as it is declared to be; and if it fully answers the reputation they have acquired.

⁊ Ego idem existimavi pecudis esse, non hominis, cum tantas res Græci susciperent, profiterentur, agerent . . . non admovere aurem, nec, si palam audire eos non auderes, ne minueres apud tuos cives auctoritatem tuam, subauscultando tamen excipere voces eorum, & procul quid narrarent, attendere. *1. de Orat. n. 153.*

In order to enable young people, and those who have not studied Greek, to form some idea of Demosthenes's style, I'll here transcribe several passages from his orations, which indeed will not be sufficient to exhibit that great orator in the glorious light he ought to be shewn, nor perhaps to give models of his eloquence in all its kinds ; but they will contribute at least to display some part of him, and his principal characters. I'll join to this, some passages from the harangue which Æschines, his competitor and rival, pronounced against him : I'll borrow M. Turreil's translation ; I mean the last, which is much more laboured, and more correct than the former ones. I'll however sometimes take the liberty to make a few small alterations, because on one hand, there are a great number of low and trivial ² expressions in it, and on the other, the style is sometimes too much ² inflated ; faults directly opposite to Demosthenes's character, whose eloquence was at one and the

² *Ce que nous demandons tous & à cor & à cri. . . . Le soin qu'ils ont de vous corner aux oreilles . . . Si vous continuez à fainéanter Vous vous comportez au rebours de tous les autres hommes . . . Vous ne cessez de m'assassiner de clabauderies éternelles Ils vous escamoteront les dix talents Vous amuser de fariboles Il se ménagea un prompt rapatriement Que si le cœur vous en dit, je vous cede la tribune Mais tout compté, tout rabatu Non, en fussiez-vous crever à force de l'assurer faussement . . . Vous vomissez des charrettes d'injures . . . Je raporte cepeu d'exemples entre beaucoup d'autres, pour*

avertir ceux qui liront cette traduction, très estimable d'ailleurs, de ne point imputer à l'orateur Grec de pareils défauts d'expression.

² Je ne citerai qu'un endroit, tiré de la troisième Philippique. De là il arrive que dans vos assemblées, au bruit flatteur d'une adulation continue, vous vous endormez tranquillement entre les bras de la volupté : mais que dans les conjonctures & dans les événements vous courez les derniers périls. Voici le texte de la première partie, qui seule souffre quelque difficulté : *εἰδ' ὑμῶν συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν καὶ κολατιεύειν πάντα πρὸς*

the same time simple and magnificent. M. de Maucroy has translated some of his orations. His version, though less correct in some passages, seems to me more agreeable to the genius of the Greek orator. I partly make use of it in the first extract I here give, which is taken from the first Philippic.

πρὸς ἰδὲν ἀκούοντων. Volius le traduit ainsi : *Unde id consequimini, ut in concionibus fastidiatis, assentationibus deliniti, & omnia, qua voluptati sunt, audiat. Ce qui est le véritable sens, & M. de Maucroy l'a suivi. Vous vous rendez difficiles dans vos assemblées : vous voulez y être flatés, & qu'on ne vous tienne que des propos agréables. Cependant cette délicatesse vous a conduits sur le bord du précipice. Ce qui a trompé M. de Tourreil est le mot *τρυφῆς*, qui signifie ordinairement, *deliciis abundare, diffuere, in deliciis vivere*. Quand il auroit eu ici ce sens, il n'auroit pas falu l'exprimer par ces termes pompeux : *vous vous endormez tranquillement entre les bras de la volupté : qui joints aux précédens, au bruit flateur d'une adulation continuelle, forment un stile tout opposé à celui de Démosthène,**

dont l'éloquence mâle & austère ne souffre point de ces sortes d'ornemens. Mais les délices & la volupté n'étoient point alors le caractère des Athéniens : & d'ailleurs quel rapport pouvoient-elles avoir aux assemblées publiques ? Au lieu qu'il étoit très naturel que les Athéniens, enflés par les éloges continuels que les orateurs faisoient de leur grande puissance, de leur mérite supérieur, des exploits de leurs ancêtres, & accoutumés depuis long-tems à de telles flateries, d'un côté fissent les importans dans leurs assemblées, & y prissent des airs fiers & dédaigneux pour un ennemi qu'ils méprisoient : & de l'autre fussent venus à ce point de délicatesse de ne pouvoir souffrir que leurs orateurs leur dissent la vérité. Car je croi qu'ici *τρυφῆς* peut avoir ce double sens.

EXTRACTS

EXTRACTS
FROM DEMOSTHENES AND
ÆSCHINES.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST PHILIPPIC OF DEMOSTHENES.

M. Turreil places this harangue at the head of the rest.

DEMOSTHENES, in this oration, animates the Athenians with hopes of better success hereafter in the war against Philip, in case they will follow his example, by applying themselves seriously to the management of their affairs.

“ If you resolve, says he, to imitate Philip,
“ which you have not done hitherto ; if every
“ one will act with sincerity for the publick good ;
“ the wealthy by contributing part of their estates,
“ and the young men by their swords ; in a
“ word, if you will depend on yourselves only,
“ and suppress that indolent disposition which
“ ties up your hands, in expectation of some
“ foreign succours ; you then will soon, by the
“ assistance of the Gods, repair your losses, and
“ atone for your faults, and will be revenged of
“ your enemies. For, do not think, gentlemen,
“ that Philip is a God who enjoys immutable felicity. He is dreaded, hated and envied by those
“ who are best affected to his interest ; and indeed, we must presume they have like passions
“ with the rest of mankind. But all these sensations seem at present extinguished, and that because your slow and indolent conduct gives them

VOL. II.

Q

“ no

“ no opportunity of exerting themselves ; and it
 “ is to this you must apply a remedy.

“ For observe, gentlemen, the low condition to
 “ which you are reduced, and to what a height
 “ of insolence this man is come. He will not
 “ allow you the liberty of determining whether
 “ you will have peace or war. He threatens you ;
 “ he speaks, as it is said, with an arrogant and
 “ haughty tone : he is not satisfied with his former
 “ conquests, but is every day gaining more ; and
 “ whilst you are temporizing and unactive, he
 “ surrounds and invests you on all sides.

“ When, gentlemen, when will you act as you
 “ ought to do ? What event do you wait for ? What
 “ necessity must compel you to it ? Alas ! is there
 “ not necessity sufficient at this very time ? For,
 “ in my opinion, none is more urgent to a free
 “ people, than when they are surrounded with
 “ shame and ignominy. Will you for ever do
 “ nothing but walk up and down the city asking
 “ one another, what news ? But can any thing
 “ appear more strange, than to see a man of Ma-
 “ cedonia become master of the Athenians, and
 “ give laws to all Greece ? Is Philip dead, says
 “ one ? No, replies another, he is only sick.
 “ Whether he be sick or dead, what is that to
 “ the purpose ; since, were he no more, you would
 “ soon raise up another by your bad conduct ;
 “ for we may assert, that his grandeur is much
 “ more owing to your indolence, than to his own
 “ valour.

Extract from the second Olynthian.

It is generally ranked the third.

Demosthenes compares the present condition of
 the Athenians to the glory of their ancestors.

“ Our

“ Our ancestors, who were neither flattered by
“ their orators, nor loved by them, as you are by
“ yours, governed Greece during sixty five years,
“ with the unanimous consent of the whole nation,
“ put above ten thousand talents into the public
“ treasury, exercised such a power over the King
“ of Macedon, as becomes the Greeks to exercise
“ over a Barbarian ; raised great numbers of state-
“ ly trophies for the victories they had gained in
“ person both by sea and land ; they only of the
“ whole race of men transmitted such a degree of
“ glory to posterity by their brave achievements,
“ as is superior to envy itself. Such were those
“ personages, at that time with regard to Greece.
“ Let us now examine their public and private
“ life in those days. Their magistrates raised several
“ noble edifices for our use, and adorned our tem-
“ ples with such a number of rich ornaments, that
“ no one will ever be able to surpass them hereafter in
“ magnificence. As to their private behaviour,
“ they were so temperate, and followed so strictly
“ our antient simplicity of manners, that if any
“ of you happens to know the houses inhabited
“ once by Aristides, Miltiades, or any other of
“ their illustrious contemporaries, he does not see
“ them distinguished by their splendor from any
“ of the houses in their neighbourhood. For in
“ the management of public affairs, they thought
“ themselves obliged to aggrandize the state, and
“ not their families. By this means they arrived
“ at the meridian of felicity, and that deservedly,
“ by faithfully consulting the common good of
“ Greece, an exemplary piety towards the Gods,
“ and living with their fellow-citizens upon a rea-
“ sonable equality. Such was the condition of
“ your fore-fathers, under such worthy magistrates ;
“ but what is yours at this time under those soft-
“ tongued orators who govern you ? Does it bear

“ the least resemblance to it? I will not insist
 “ upon the parallel, though the subject opens a
 “ large field——

“ But some will answer me, and say, though
 “ things don’t go on well abroad, they are in a
 “ much better condition at home. But what
 “ proofs can be brought of this? Why, some
 “ battlements have been whitened, some high-
 “ ways repaired, and some aqueducts built; with
 “ such like trifles. Cast your eyes, I beseech
 “ you, upon those men, to whom you owe these
 “ rare monuments of their administration. Some
 “ of them were raised from poverty to affluence,
 “ others from obscurity to splendor; some again
 “ have built private houses, which are so magni-
 “ ficent, that they seem to insult even the publick
 “ edifices; and the lower the fortune of the
 “ state has sunk, the higher the fortune of such
 “ people is risen. To what then must we im-
 “ pute this entire subversion of things in our days,
 “ and why is that wonderful order which was
 “ formerly seen in all things, now changed for
 “ confusion? The reason is this: first, because
 “ the people at that time, having innate courage
 “ enough to exercise the military employments,
 “ kept the magistrates dependent on them, and
 “ had the entire disposal of all offices and fa-
 “ vours; and every citizen thought it a merit
 “ to receive honours, employments, or good of-
 “ fices from the people. But now ’tis quite other-
 “ wise; for the magistrates confer all favours,
 “ and exercise a despotic power; while you, un-
 “ happy people, enervated and despoiled both of
 “ treasure and alliances, are merely but as so
 “ many lacqueys and as a mob of people;
 “ and think yourselves doubly happy, if your
 “ magistrates do but indulge you the two Oboli
 “ for the theatre, and the vastly mean entertain-
 “ ment

“ ment they provide for you upon rejoicing days.
“ And to compleat your cowardly behaviour, you
“ lavish the title of benefactors upon those who
“ give you nothing but what is your own; and
“ who, after imprisoning you, as it were, within
“ your own walls, bait and tame you in this
“ manner, with no other view but to prepare you
“ for slavery.”

EXTRACT OF THE HARANGUE CONCERNING
THE CHERSONESUS.

The pensioners which Philip kept at Athens, were perpetually endeavouring to find out expedients for disposing the people to peace; but Demosthenes discovers their treachery and artifices.

“ ^b I'll only observe, that as soon as this discourse against Philip was begun, one of those mercenaries rose up, and cried out, *What a sweet thing is peace! How terrible to maintain mighty armies! Our treasury is in danger:* and they amuse you with such discourses, by which they cool your zeal, and give Philip an opportunity of acting leisurely as he thinks fit. . . . But it is not you who are to be persuaded to peace; you, I say, who being already but too much influenced that way, loiter here in an indolent posture; 'tis that man who breathes nothing but war. . . . Besides, we ought not to consider what is employed for our own safety as a hardship, but that which we shall suffer in case we neglect to secure ourselves in time. As to the squandering of the public monies, this must be remedied by proposing the best means of preventing it for the future, and not by persuading you to abandon entirely your own interest.

^b Towards the end of the harangue.

“ As to myself, gentlemen, I am filled with
“ indignation to see some of you make such a
“ noise about plundering the Exchequer, (which
“ may be rectified by punishing the offenders in
“ an exemplary manner) because their private in-
“ terest suffers by it ; and say nothing, at the
“ same time, of Philip, who plunders all Greece
“ successively, and that to your prejudice. Whence
“ can it proceed, gentlemen, that while Philip is
“ displaying his banners in the face of the whole
“ world, commits violences, and invades strong
“ holds ; none of these people has ever thought
“ fit to say, that man acts unjustly, and commits
“ hostilities ? and that when you are advised not
“ to suffer such outrages, but to put a stop to
“ them, these very people cry out immediately,
“ that you are going to kindle the flames of a
“ war which were extinguished.

“ What ! shall we say again, that to advise you
“ to defend yourselves, is kindling a war ? If
“ that be the case, then there is nothing but sla-
“ very for you. This is the only medium, if
“ we neglect on the one hand to repel violence ;
“ and that, on the other, the enemy will not grant
“ us a truce. Then our danger differs very
“ much from that of the other Greeks ; for
“ Philip will not be barely satisfied with enslaving
“ Athens, he will destroy it ; for he knows very
“ well you'll never submit to slavery ; and that,
“ though you would do this, you never could,
“ for command and authority are habitual to you ;
“ and besides, you'll be capable of giving him
“ more trouble and opposition than all the rest
“ of the Greeks united, whenever you shall think
“ fit to lay hold of any occasion to throw off the
“ yoke. It must then be laid down as a certain
“ maxim, that our whole fortune is at stake, and
“ that you cannot too much abhor the mercenaries
“ who

“ who sold themselves to this man ; for 'tis not
“ possible, no 'tis not, to vanquish your foreign
“ enemies, till you have chastised your domestic
“ foes, who are his pensioners ; so that, whilst
“ you'll bulge against those as against so many
“ rocks, you'll never attempt to act against the
“ others, till it be too late.

FROM THE THIRD PHILIPPIC.

“ Make this reflection, I beseech you : you
“ think the privilege of saying any thing is so
“ inherent in every man who breathes the air of
“ Athens, that you suffer foreigners and slaves to
“ deliver their thoughts on every subject ; inso-
“ much that servants are here indulged a greater
“ liberty in that particular than citizens in some
“ other commonwealths. 'Tis from the *Rostra*
“ only, that the freedom of speech is denied.
“ Hence it is that you are grown so unaccountably
“ haughty in your assemblies, and so difficult to
“ be pleased. You would always be flattered in
“ them, and hear nothing but what is pleasing :
“ and 'tis this pride and delicacy have brought
“ you to the brink of destruction. If then you
“ remain still in the same disposition, I have no-
“ thing to do but to be silent. But if you can
“ prevail with yourselves to listen to what is to
“ your advantage without flattery, I am ready to
“ speak. For notwithstanding the deplorable con-
“ dition of our affairs, and the several losses we
“ have sustained through our neglect, they yet
“ may be repaired, provided you determine to
“ act as you should do.

“ You know, that whatever the Greeks suf-
“ fered from the Lacedæmonians or from us, they
“ suffered by those who were Greeks as well as
“ themselves ; so that we may compare our faults

“ to those of a son, who being born in a rich fa-
 “ mily, should err against some maxim of good
 “ œconomy. Such a son would justly deserve
 “ the reproachful name of a squanderer; but it
 “ could not be justly asserted, that he had seized
 “ upon another man’s right, or that he was not
 “ the lawful heir. But if a slave, or a suppositi-
 “ tious child would seize an estate he had no
 “ manner of title to; just heavens! would not
 “ such an enormity raise the whole world against
 “ him? and would not they cry out with one
 “ voice, that it deserved exemplary punishment?
 “ But we don’t consider Philip and his present
 “ conduct in that light. Philip, who, besides his
 “ not being a Greek, is no ways allied to the
 “ Greeks by any kind of relation, and is not dis-
 “ tinguished even amongst the Barbarians by any
 “ thing but his being denominated from the con-
 “ temptible place whence he comes; and being a
 “ wretched Macedonian by his birth, came into
 “ the world in a corner whence we never buy even
 “ a good slave. Notwithstanding this, does he
 “ not treat you with the highest indignity? Is
 “ it not come to its highest pitch? Not content,
 “ &c.”

The *Extracts* which follow, being taken from the
 orations of Æschines and Demosthenes *de Corona*,
 it will be necessary to give the reader some idea
 of the subject. This Cicero informs us of in his
 preamble to those two orations, when he translated
 them; and this is the only fragment now re-
 maining of that excellent work.

Demosthenes was entrusted with the care of re-
 pairing the walls of Athens, which he accom-
 plished with great honour and reputation, having
 contributed a great deal of his own wealth towards
 it. Ctesiphon decreed a crown of gold to him on
 that account; proposed it should be presented in a

full theatre in a general assembly of the people ; and that the herald should proclaim it was to reward the zeal and probity of that orator. Æschines accused Ctesiphon, as having violated the laws by that decree ——— “ So extraordinary a contest raised the curiosity of all Greece : people ran from all parts, and with reason too. What finer sight than to see two orators contending, each excelling in his own way ; formed by nature, perfected by art, and besides, animated from personal hatred.”

EXTRACTS OF ÆSCHINES'S HARANGUE.

Æschines, after having represented in the beginning of the exordium, the irregularities introduced in the commonwealth, which were of such prejudice to it, proceeds thus :

“ In such a situation of affairs, and in such disorders, of which you yourselves are sensible ; the only method of saving the wrecks of the government, is, if I mistake not, to allow full liberty to accuse those who have invaded your laws. But if you shut them up, or suffer others to do this, I prophesy that you will fall insensibly, and that very soon, under a tyrannical power. For you know, gentlemen, that government is divided into three kinds ; Monarchy, Oligarchy and Democracy. As to the two former, they are governed at the will and pleasure of those who reign in either ; whereas established laws, only, reign in a popular state. That none of you therefore may be ignorant, but, on the

“ Ad hoc judicium concursus dicitur è tota Græcia factus esse. Quid enim aut tam visendum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quàm summorum oratorum in gravissimâ causâ, accurata & inimicitiiis incensa contentio ? *Cic. de opt. gen. Orat. n. 22.*

“ contrary,

“ contrary, that you all may be certainly assured,
 “ that the day he ascends the seat of justice, to
 “ examine an accusation upon the invasion of the
 “ laws, that very day he goes to pronounce sen-
 “ tence upon his own independence. And indeed,
 “ the legislator who is convinced that a free state
 “ can support itself no longer than the laws pre-
 “ vail, takes particular care to prescribe this form
 “ of an oath to judges, *I will judge according to*
 “ *the laws.* The remembrance therefore of this
 “ being deeply engraved in your minds, must
 “ inspire you with a just abhorrence of any persons
 “ whatsoever who dare transgress them by rash
 “ decrees ; and that far from ever looking upon
 “ a transgression of this kind, as a small fault,
 “ you must always consider it as an enormous and
 “ capital crime. Do not suffer then, any one to
 “ eradicate such a principle from your minds. . . .
 “ But as, in the army, every one of you would
 “ be ashamed to quit the post assigned him by
 “ the general ; so let every one of you be this
 “ day ashamed to abandon the post which the laws
 “ have given you in the commonwealth. What
 “ post ? that of protectors of the government.

This comparison, which is very beautiful and
 noble in itself, has a peculiar grace in this place,
 presenting, as it were, two faces to us ; for at
 the same time that it affects the judges, it reflects
 strongly on Demosthenes's cowardice, against whom
 it points a satyrical stroke, which is the more de-
 licate and malicious, the more remote it seems to
 be from all affectation. It is well known that he
 had abandoned his post and fled at the battle of
 Cheronefus. This judicious observation was made
 by M. Turreil.

“ Must we, in your person (addressing himself
 “ to Demosthenes) crown the author of the pub-
 “ lic calamities, or must we destroy him ? And,
 “ indeed,

“ indeed, what unexpected revolutions, what un-
“ thought of catastrophes have we not seen in
“ our days?——The King of Persia, that King
“ who opened a passage through mount Athos;
“ who bound the Hellespont in chains, who was
“ so imperious as to command the Greeks to
“ acknowledge him sovereign both of sea and land;
“ who in his letters and dispatches dared to give
“ himself the title of sovereign of the world from
“ the rising to the setting of the sun; and who fights
“ now, not to rule over the rest of mankind, but
“ to save his own life. Do not we see those very
“ men who signalized their zeal in the relief of
“ Delphos, invested both with the glory, for
“ which that powerful King was once so con-
“ spicuous, and with the title of chief of the
“ Greeks against him? As to Thebes, which bor-
“ ders upon Attica, have we not seen it disappear
“ in one day from the midst of Greece? And
“ with regard to the unhappy Lacedæmonians,
“ what calamities have not befallen them only for
“ taking but a little part of the spoils of the tem-
“ ple; they who formerly assumed a superio-
“ rity over Greece, are they not now going to
“ send ambassadors to Alexander’s court, to be as
“ hostages in his train, to become a miserable spec-
“ tacle; to bow the knee before the Monarch,
“ submit themselves and their country to his
“ mercy; and receive such laws as a conqueror,
“ a conqueror they attacked first, will think
“ fit to prescribe them? Athens itself, the com-
“ mon refuge of the Greeks; Athens formerly
“ inhabited by ambassadors, who flocked to claim
“ its almighty protection, is not this city now
“ obliged to fight, not to obtain a superiority
“ over the Greeks, but to preserve itself from
“ destruction? Such are the misfortunes which
“ Demosthenes

“ Demosthenes has brought upon us, since his intermeddling with the administration.——

“ But you, who of all men are the most unfit to signalize yourselves by great and memorable actions, and at the same time the fittest to distinguish yourselves by rash speeches ; dare you, and that in the presence of this august assembly, assert, that we must bestow a crown at your intercession, on the person who has occasioned all the public calamities ? And if this man shall presume so far, will you suffer it, gentlemen, and shall the memory of those great men who died in the field for their country, die with them ? I beg you for a few moments, to convey yourselves in imagination from the Rostra to the theatre, and fancy you see the herald advancing and proclaiming the crown deemed to Demosthenes. On which occasion do you think that the relations of those citizens, who spilt their blood for you, ought to shed most tears ; either for the tragical adventures of those heroes which will afterwards be represented, or for the enormous ingratitude of the Athenians ? Do not lay open again the deep and incurable wounds of the unhappy Thebans, who are fugitives by Demosthenes’s means, and gathered together in this place by yours. But since you were not present at their catastrophe, endeavour, at least, to form some image of it, and represent to yourselves a city taken, walls levelled, houses reduced to ashes, mothers and children dragged into slavery ; old men and old women forced to be servants at the end of their days ; drowned in tears, imploring your justice, breaking out into reproaches, not against the actors, but against the authors of the cruel vengeance, which they felt ; earnestly pressing you

“ to

“ to be so far from conferring any kind of reward
“ upon the destroyer of Greece, that you would
“ preserve yourselves from that curse, that fatality
“ which is inseparable from him.

“ Imagine then, gentlemen, when he shall in-
“ vite the confidents and accomplices of his cow-
“ ardly treachery round him, towards the close of
“ his harangue; imagine then, gentlemen, on
“ your side, that you see the antient benefactors of
“ this commonwealth, drawn up in battle array,
“ round this Rostra where I am now speaking, in
“ order to repulse that audacious band. Imagine you
“ hear Solon, who strengthened the popular govern-
“ ment by such excellent laws; that philosopher,
“ that incomparable legislator, conjuring you with
“ a gentleness and modesty worthy of his charac-
“ ter, not to set a higher value upon Demosthenes’s
“ oratorical flourishes than upon your oaths and
“ your laws. Imagine you hear Aristides, who
“ made so exact and orderly a repartition of the
“ contributions imposed upon the Greeks for the
“ common cause; that sage dispenser, who left
“ no other inheritance to his daughters, but the
“ public gratitude, which was their portion;
“ imagine, I say, you hear him bitterly be-
“ wailing the outrageous manner in which we
“ trample upon justice, and speaking to you in
“ these words. What! because Arthmius of Ze-
“ lia, that Asiatick, who passed through Athens,
“ where he even enjoyed the rights of hospitality,
“ had brought gold from the Medes into Greece;
“ your ancestors were going to send him to the
“ place of execution, and banished him, not only
“ from their city, but from all the countries de-
“ pendent on them; and will not you blush to
“ decree Demosthenes, who has not indeed brought
“ gold from the Medes, but has received such
“ sums of money from all parts to betray you,
“ and

“ and now enjoys the fruit of his treasures ; will
 “ not you, I say, blush to decree a crown of
 “ gold to Demosthenes ? Do you think that The-
 “ mistocles, and the heroes who were killed in
 “ the battles of Marathon and Platea ; do you
 “ think, the very tombs of your ancestors will
 “ not break into groans, if you crown a man who,
 “ by his own confession, has been for ever con-
 “ spiring with barbarians to ruin Greece ?

“ As to myself, O Earth ! O Sun ! O Virtue !
 “ And you, who are the springs of true discern-
 “ ment, lights both natural and acquired, by
 “ which we distinguish good from evil, I call you
 “ to witness, that I have used all my endeavours to
 “ relieve the state, and to plead her cause. I could
 “ have wished my speech had been equal to the
 “ greatness and importance of the subject ; at
 “ least, I can flatter myself with having dis-
 “ charged my duty according to my abilities, if
 “ I have not done it suitable to my wishes. Do
 “ you, gentlemen, from the reasons you have
 “ heard, and those which your wisdom will sug-
 “ gest ; do you pronounce such a judgment, as is
 “ conformable to strict justice, and requisite to
 “ the common good.

EXTRACTS OF DEMOSTHENES'S HARANGUE
 FOR CTESIPHON.

“ I begin with intreating all the Gods and all
 “ the Goddesses, that they would inspire you, gen-
 “ tlemen, in this cause with a benevolence towards
 “ me, proportionate to my constant zeal for the
 “ commonwealth in general, and for every one
 “ of you in particular : afterwards, (which is of
 “ the utmost consequence to yourselves, your con-
 “ sciences, and your honour) I crave of the same
 “ Deities, that they would fix you in the resolu-
 “ tion

“ tion of consulting upon the manner of hearing
“ me, not my accuser, (for you could not do that
“ without partiality;) but your laws and your
“ oaths, the form of which, among other terms,
“ (all dictated by justice) is as follows: *Hear*
“ *both parties equally*; which obliges you to come
“ with an unbiassed mind and heart to the Rostre,
“ and to allow each of the parties to draw up his
“ reasons and proofs, in whatever manner he shall
“ think fit ^d.

“ Now, gentlemen, among the many disadvantages on my side in this cause, there are two particularly, and two very terrible ones, which make my condition much worse than his. The first is, that we run very unequal risques; for now I hazard much more in losing your good will, than he does, should he fail to make good the charge; since I am to But I will not suffer one word to fall from me in the beginning of my discourse, that presages any thing sinister. He, on the contrary, attacks me through wantonness, and without any necessity for so doing. The other disadvantage I lie under, is, that all men are naturally inclinable to hear an accuser with pleasure; while on the other hand they hear those who boast or magnify themselves with indignation. He therefore acts a part that pleases universally; whereas almost every thing which falls to my lot, is what almost makes every man an enemy. But if on one hand, the fear of incurring indignation, which is inseparable from self-applause, should oblige me to be silent on my own actions; it will be thought that I can neither refute

^d *Æschines pretended to point out the order which Demosthenes was to observe in his pleading.*

“ him

“ him who reproaches me with crimes, nor
 “ justify the person who decrees rewards for
 “ me. On the other, if I should discuss the ser-
 “ vices I have done during my administration, I
 “ shall be forced to speak of myself frequently.
 “ I’ll therefore endeavour, in this dangerous di-
 “ lemma, to behave with all possible modera-
 “ tion ; but whatever the necessity of my own
 “ defence may extort from me, this ought in justice
 “ to be imputed only to the aggressor, who vo-
 “ luntarily imposed it upon me.

“ But in spite of those indisputable facts, and
 “ certified, as it were, by the mouth of truth it-
 “ self, Æschines has so far renounced all shame,
 “ that, not content to proclaim me the author of
 “ such a peace as he has mentioned, he is so auda-
 “ cious as to tax me likewise with preventing the
 “ commonwealth from concerting it with the ge-
 “ neral assembly of the Greeks But did
 “ you, O ! (what title shall I give you ?)
 “ did you betray the least shadow of displea-
 “ sure against me, when I broke the chords of
 “ that harmony in your presence, and dispossessed
 “ the commonwealth of the advantages of that
 “ confederacy, which you now magnify so much,
 “ with the loudest strains of your theatrical voice ?
 “ Did you ascend the Rostrum ? Did you de-
 “ nounce, or once explain those crimes, with
 “ which you are now pleased to charge me ?
 “ Surely then, if I could have forgot my duty
 “ so far, as to sell myself to Philip, in order to
 “ exclude the Greeks from participating in that
 “ peace ; you ought then to have exclaimed, pro-
 “ tested, and discovered my prevarications to
 “ those who now hear me ; but you never did
 “ any thing of this kind, nor did any person

• Æschines had been a comedian.

“ living

“ living hear you say one syllable tending that
“ way

“ But if Philip was constantly depriving all
“ nations, without exception, of their honour, pre-
“ rogatives, liberty, or rather subverting as many
“ commonwealths as he could ; did not you, gen-
“ tlemen, form those very arguments which un-
“ doubtedly were the most glorious to you,
“ through your regard for my advice ? Tell us,
“ Æschines, how Athens should have behaved in
“ Philip’s fight, when he set all engines at work,
“ to establish his empire and tyranny over the
“ Greeks ? Or what counsels and resolutions
“ should I, who was the minister, have proposed ;
“ especially in Athens ? (for the circumstances of
“ place require a particular attention :) I, who
“ was intimately sensible, that my country had at
“ all times, even till the day I first mounted
“ the Rostra, perpetually fought for superiority,
“ for honour and glory ; and that it alone had,
“ through a noble emulation, sacrificed more
“ men and money for the general good of the
“ Greeks, than any other of the Grecian states
“ had ever sacrificed for their own private advan-
“ tage. I, who besides saw this same Philip,
“ with whom we contended for sovereignty and
“ empire ; saw him, though covered with wounds,
“ his eye beat out, his collar-bone broke, his
“ hand and leg maimed, still resolved to plunge
“ himself amidst dangers, and ready to give up
“ to fortune such other part of his body as she
“ would require, provided he could live ho-
“ nourably and gloriously with the remainder.
“ Now, certainly no man dares to say, that a
“ Barbarian educated in Pella, (then a contempti-
“ ble and obscure place) could possibly possess a
“ soul sublime enough to desire and undertake
“ the conquest of the Greeks : But for you,

“ though Athenians, for you who every day hear
 “ the virtue of your ancestors displayed either by
 “ your orators in the Rostra, or by your actors upon
 “ the stage ; for you, I say, to carry your meanness
 “ of soul and cowardice so far, as to abandon and
 “ make a voluntary surrender of the liberties of
 “ Greece to Philip. No man living will ever be
 “ so audacious as to make such a strange proposal.
 “ Censure me, Æschines, for the advice I
 “ gave, but do not asperse me for the event ; for
 “ the supreme Being unravels and terminates every
 “ thing at pleasure ; whereas we must judge, from
 “ the nature of the advice or opinions themselves,
 “ of him who gives them. If therefore Philip
 “ has been a conqueror, do not impute it to me as
 “ a crime, since God disposed of the victory,
 “ and not I. But shew me what it is that I did
 “ not pursue with a rectitude, a vigilance and an
 “ indefatigable activity, superior to my strength ;
 “ shew me, that I did not practise all the expedients
 “ which human prudence could employ ;
 “ that I did not inspire noble and necessary resolutions,
 “ and such as were worthy of Athens ;
 “ and after this give a full scope to your accusations.
 “ But if a sudden thunder-bolt or a tempest should strike
 “ you to the ground, gentlemen, and not only you, but all
 “ the rest of the Grecians, how can this be helped ? Must
 “ the innocent be sacrificed ? If the owner of a vessel had
 “ fitted it out with every thing necessary, and provided to
 “ the utmost of his power against the dangers of the sea ;
 “ and that a storm should afterwards arise and break the
 “ masts, would any one in that case accuse him with being
 “ the cause of the shipwreck ? But he would say, I did not
 “ command the vessel. Nor did I command the army : I did
 “ not dispose of fortune ; on the contrary, it was fortune
 “ disposed of every thing.

“ Since

“ Since therefore he insists so strenuously upon
“ events, I am not afraid of advancing a kind of
“ paradox. Let none of us, in the name of Ju-
“ piter and the other Gods, be startled at the ap-
“ parent hyperbole, but let him examine equitably
“ what I am going to say. For if all the Athe-
“ nians had discovered future events by a prophe-
“ tic spirit ; that all had foreseen them, and that
“ you, Æschines, who did not speak a single
“ word, had foretold and certified them with your
“ thunder-like voice : Athens, even in that case,
“ ought not to have changed its measures, had
“ it ever so little regard to its glory, its ancestors,
“ or the judgment of posterity. For now Athens
“ seems, at most, to be fallen from its greatness ;
“ a misfortune common to all mortals, whenever it
“ so pleases the supreme Being. But a common-
“ wealth, that thought itself at that time worthy
“ of a superiority over all the rest of the Greeks,
“ could not part with such a right, without in-
“ curring the just reproach of delivering them
“ all up to Philip : since in case Athens had quit-
“ ted, without a blow, a prerogative which our
“ ancestors had purchased at all hazards ; how
“ would you, Æschines, have been covered with
“ shame ? For most certainly, that shame could
“ not have reflected either upon the common-
“ wealth or upon me. Great God ! how could
“ we bear the sight of this innumerable multitude
“ which come from all parts to Athens, if things
“ had been brought to the low ebb we now see
“ them at, by our fault or wrong management ;
“ had we chosen Philip as the chief and arbiter of
“ all Greece ; had we suffered others to hazard a
“ battle without us, in order to prevent such a
“ calamity ; especially since we call ourselves inha-
“ bitants of a city, which chose at all times, rather
“ to brave glorious dangers, than enjoy an ignomi-
“ nious

" nious security. For what Greek, what Barba-
 " rian, does not know, that the Thebans, and be-
 " fore them the Lacedæmonians, when arrived at
 " the meridian of power, and, lastly, the Persian
 " King ; would have willingly granted the com-
 " monwealth, not only the enjoyment of its own
 " possessions, but likewise every thing it could
 " desire, provided it could have condescended to
 " submit, and suffer any other to govern Greece ?
 " But such sentiments could not be admitted by
 " Athenians, (as appeared on those occasions) ei-
 " ther as hereditary, supportable or natural. And
 " since the first foundation of Athens, none could
 " ever force it to make any cowardly submissions
 " to tyrannical power, though superior in strength ;
 " nor to gain a base security by servile concessions.
 " On the contrary, as Athens was in immemorial
 " possession of fighting for sovereignty, for honour
 " and for glory ; so it has at all times braved the
 " greatest dangers. . . . If therefore I should at-
 " tempt to insinuate, that my counsels determined
 " you to think like worthy descendents of your
 " predecessors, every one might tax me justly with
 " arrogance. But I declare in this place, that
 " if you formed such resolutions, the glory of
 " them is yours ; and I own, that the common-
 " wealth had great and magnanimous sentiments
 " long before my time. The only thing I can
 " boast of is, that I co-operated in every thing
 " that fell to my share in the ministry.

" By the way, gentlemen, a citizen naturally
 " virtuous, (for when I speak of myself, I make
 " use of no other word, to avoid envy) possesses
 " these two qualities. A steady and unshaken
 " courage in the exercise of authority, to support
 " the commonwealth in its superiority ; and a
 " zeal that has been proof against every thing,
 " in every conjuncture and particular action. For
 " these

“ these sensations depend ^f upon us, being given
“ by nature ; but as to force and power, they
“ proceed from other causes. Now certainly,
“ that this zeal was never falsified in me, judge
“ of it by my actions. My zeal for you was ne-
“ ver lessened on any occasion, no, not when my
“ head was demanded ; nor when I was delivered
“ up to the Amphictyons, nor when the greatest
“ efforts were made to stagger me with threats,
“ nor when endeavours were used to allure me
“ with promises, nor when these cursed wretches,
“ like so many wild beasts, were let loose upon me.
“ As to the government, no sooner had I a share
“ in it, than I followed the direct and just methods
“ of preserving the strength, glory and prero-
“ gatives of my country ; augmenting them, and
“ devoting myself entirely to that study. Thus,
“ when I find other powers flourishing, I am
“ never seen walking in the Forum, with a serene
“ and contented aspect, or stretching out my hand
“ with a pleasing air, and telling good news with
“ a congratulating voice to the people, who, I
“ suppose, will afterwards send it to Macedonia ;
“ nor am I seen trembling, sighing and with
“ down-cast eyes, upon hearing the success of
“ the Athenians, like those impious wretches who
“ defame the commonwealth ; as though they did
“ not defame themselves by such courses. They
“ have always their eye abroad, and when they see
“ any Potentate taking advantage of our misfor-
“ tunes, they magnify his successes, and give out
“ that all endeavours should be used to eternize
“ his victories.

“ Immortal Gods ! let none of you hear such
“ vows as these ; but rather rectify the minds and
“ hearts of these perverse men. But if their in-

^f That was the Doctrine of the Stoicks.

“ veterate malice is incurable, pursue them both
 “ by sea and land; extirpate them totally as to
 “ us Athenians; avert, as soon as possible, the ca-
 “ lamities which threaten us, and grant us full
 “ peace and security.

The success of the two orations.

Æschines lost his cause, and was banished for his rash accusation. He settled at Rhodes, and set up a school of eloquence, which maintained its glory for several ages. He began his lectures with the two orations which had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to his; but when that of Demosthenes was read, the acclamations were redoubled. § And it was upon this occasion, he said, (so laudable in an enemy and a rival) But how wonderful would you have found it, had you heard it from his own mouth?

I did not pretend, that the passages I have now borrowed from the harangues of Æschines and Demosthenes, could alone give a just idea of those two great orators; for the most essential part of eloquence, and, as it were, the soul of it, must necessarily be wanting in extracts taken from the body of the entire work. We neither see plan, design, order, or series of the oration in those extracts; nor the strength, connection or disposition of the proofs: The marvellous art by which the orator sometimes insinuates himself gently into peoples hearts; and sometimes enters in a forcible way, and makes himself absolute master over them. Besides, no translation can give the Attick purity, eloquence and delicacy, of which the Greek language only is susceptible, and which Demosthenes had carried to the highest perfec-

§ Valer. Max. lib. 8. c. 20.

tion. I had no other view in copying these extracts, but to enable such readers as have not studied Greek, to form some idea of the style of those two orators. The advantageous judgments which the best writers in all ages have given us of it, will likewise contribute to shew their character; and may perhaps inspire us with the desire of taking a nearer view of persons of such uncommon merit, of whom so many wonders are related. M. de Turreil has collected several, some of which I will relate in this place.

I.

The Judgments of the Antients on Æschines and Demosthenes.

^h Quintilian, whose opinion is no less clear than equitable, speaks of them in this manner: “ⁱ A crowd of orators arose afterwards, of whom Demosthenes was the chief; the standard which every one must ^k necessarily follow who aspires to true eloquence. His style is so strong, so close, and ^l nervous: ’tis every where so just,

^h Lib. 10. c. 1.

ⁱ Sequitur oratorum ingens manus quorum longè princeps Demosthenes, ac penè lex orandi fuit. Tanta vis in eo, tam densa omnia, ita quibusdam nervis intenta sunt, tam nihil otiosum, is dicendi modus, ut nec quod desit in eo, nec quod redundet, invenias. Plenior Æschines, & magis fusus, & grandiori similis, quo minùs strictus est. Carnis tamen plus habet, acertorum minus.

^k Quintilian did not dare

to say absolutely, that Demosthenes’s orations were the standard of eloquence; he has softened the reflection, penè lex orandi fuit.

^l Tam densa omnia, ita quibusdam nervis intenta sunt. “*Il est si serré, si nerveux.*” I do not know whether this metaphor is borrowed from the nerves of the body, or from a bow, the string of which being strongly stretched (nervi) pushes the arrow forward with a prodigious force and impetuosity.

“ so exactly concise, that there’s nothing too much
 “ or too little. Æschines is more diffusive ; he
 “ makes a greater figure, because he is not so
 “ close : he discovers a greater flush of health,
 “ but his sinews are not so strong and well com-
 “ pacted.

“ ^m What distinguishes the eloquence of Demos-
 “ thenes is, the impetuosity of the expression, the
 “ choice of words, and the beauty of the dispo-
 “ sition ; which being supported throughout, and
 “ accompanied with force and sweetness, keeps
 “ the attention of the judges perpetually fixed.
 “ Æschines indeed is less energetic ; but he distin-
 “ guishes himself by his diction, which he some-
 “ times adorns with the most noble and magni-
 “ ficent figures ; and sometimes seasons with the
 “ most lively and strongest touches. We don’t
 “ discover any art or labour in them ; a happy
 “ facility, which nature only can bestow, runs
 “ through the whole. He is bright and solid ;
 “ he enlarges and amplifies, but is often close ;
 “ so that his style, which at first seems only
 “ flowing and sweet, discovers itself, upon a
 “ nearer view, to be vehement and emphatic, in
 “ which Demosthenes only surpasses him ; so that
 “ Æschines justly claims the second place among
 “ orators.

“ ⁿ I remember, says Cicero, that I preferred
 “ Demosthenes to all other orators. He is ade-
 “ quate to the idea I had formed to myself of
 “ eloquence ; he attained to that degree of perfec-

^m *Dion. Halicarn. in his book called τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑπὲρ.*
cap. 5.

ⁿ Recordor me longè om-
 nibus unam anteferre Demos-
 thenem, qui vim accommodarit
 ad eam quam sentiam eloquen-

tiam, non ad eam quam in ali-
 quo ipse cognoverim. Hoc nec
 gravior extitit quisquam, nec
 callidior, nec temperatior . . .
 Unus eminet inter omnes in
 omni genere dicendi. *Orat.*
n. 23 & 104.

“ tion which I figure to myself, but find no where,
 “ except in him alone. Never had any orator more
 “ greatness and strength, more art and cunning,
 “ nor more prudence and moderation in the em-
 “ bellishments. He excels in every kind of elo-
 “ quence ° He possesses all the qualifica-
 “ tions necessary for forming the orator. He is
 “ perfect. Whatever penetration, whatever re-
 “ finement, whatever artifice, as it were, and
 “ cunning, can suggest on any subject; these he
 “ finds and employs with a justness, a brevity,
 “ and clearness, which give us so much satisfaction
 “ that we have nothing more to desire. Are ele-
 “ vation, greatness and vehemence necessary? He
 “ surpasses all others in the sublimity of his
 “ thoughts, and the magnificence of his expres-
 “ sions. He is incontestably the first; none equals
 “ him. Hyperides, Æschines, Lycurgus, Dinar-
 “ chus, Demades, have no other merit but that
 “ of coming nearest to him.

“ P That harangue (says Cicero in another
 “ place, speaking of Ctesiphon’s defence) answers
 “ so effectually to the idea I have formed of perfect
 “ eloquence, that nothing more finished can be
 “ wished for.

Before I proceed to the character of Cicero’s
 eloquence, I think myself obliged to add here some
 reflections upon that of Demosthenes.

• Plane quidem perfectum,
 & cui nihil admodum deficit,
 Demosthenem facile dixeris.
 Nihil acutè inveniri potuit in
 eis causis quas scripsit, nihil
 (ut ita dicam) subdole, nihil
 versute, quod ille non viderit;
 nihil subtiliter dici, nihil presè,
 nihil enucleatè, quo fieri possit
 aliquid limatius: nihil contra

grande, nihil incitatum, nihil
 ornatum vel verborum gravi-
 tate, vel sententiarum, quo quid-
 quam esset elatius, &c. *Brut.*
n. 35.

P Ea profectò oratio in eam
 formam, quæ est insita in men-
 tibus nostris, includi sic potest,
 ut major eloquentia non quæ-
 ratur. *Orat. n. 133.*

It would, in my opinion, be renouncing of good sense and sound reason, to call in question the superior merit of the Greek orator, after the incredible success he had in his time, and the noble encomiums which the best judges have been, in a manner, contending to bestow upon him.

He spoke [¶] before the most polite people that ever lived, and the most delicate, and difficult to be pleased in matters of eloquence; a people so well acquainted with the beauties and graces of speech, and the purity of diction, that their orators durst not venture to use any doubtful or uncommon expression, or any which might be the least offensive to such nice and refined ears. Besides, he lived in an age when the taste of the beautiful, the true, and the simple was in its utmost perfection. [¶] Thrice happy age! which gave birth to a multitude of orators at the same time, every one of whom might have been looked upon as a compleat model, had not Demosthenes eclipsed them all, by the strength of his genius and the extraordinary superiority of his merit.

All posterity allowed him the same justice, which even his own age had not refused. But Cicero's judgment alone should determine that of every judicious and equitable man. He is not a stupid admirer who gives himself up to blind prejudices without examination. But how much soever, in Cicero's opinion, Demosthenes excelled in every

[¶] Atheniensium semper fuit prudens sincerumque judicium, nihil ut possent nisi incorruptum audire & elegans. Eorum religioni cum serviret orator, nullum verbum insolens, nullum odiosum ponere audebat . . . Ad Atticorum aures teretes & religiosas qui se ac-

commodant, ii sunt existimandi Atticè dicere. *Orat. n. 25* & 27.

[¶] Sequitur oratorum ingens manus, cum decem simul Athenis ætas una tulerit: quorum longè princeps Demosthenes, ac penè lex orandi fuit. *Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1.*

species of eloquence, † he owns however that he does not satisfy him in every particular, and that he left him something to wish for ; so delicate was he upon that point, and so sublime and elevated was his idea of a perfect orator. However he gives his orations, and especially that for Ctesiphon, which was his master-piece, as the most finished models we can propose to ourselves.

What is there then in his orations that is so admirable, and has forced away the universal and unanimous applause of all ages ? Is Demosthenes an orator who amuses himself barely with tickling the ear, by the sound and harmony of periods ; or does he impose upon the mind by a florid style and shining thoughts ? Such eloquence may indeed dazzle and charm the moment we hear it, but the impression it makes is of a short duration. What we admire in Demosthenes is the plan, the series, and the order and disposition of the oration ; it is the strength of the proofs, the solidity of the arguments, the grandeur and nobleness of the sentiments and of the style ; the vivacity of the turns and figures, in a word, † the wonderful art of representing the subjects he treats, in all their lustre ; and displaying them in all their strength, in which, according to Quintilian, that just eloquence chiefly consists, which is not satisfied with representing things as they really are, but heightens them by

† *Usque eò difficiles ac morosi sumus, ut nobis non satisfiat ipse Demosthenes: qui, quanquam unus eminet inter omnes in omni genere dicendi, tamen non semper implet aures meas, ita sunt avidæ & capaces, & semper aliquid immensum infinitumque desiderant.* *Orat. n. 194.*

† *In hoc eloquentiæ vis est*

*ut judicem non ad id tantum impellat, in quod ipse à rei natura duceretur: sed aut qui non est, aut majorem quam est, faciat affectum. Hæc est illa quæ *δύωρις* vocatur, rebus indignis, asperis, invidiosis addens vim oratio: qua virtute præter alios plurimum Demosthenes valuit.* *Quintil. l. 6.*

c. 3.

lively and animated touches, which only are capable of affecting and moving the passions of the auditors. But that which distinguishes Demosthenes still more, and in which no one has imitated him, is, that he forgets himself so entirely ; is always so scrupulous in avoiding every thing that might look like a shew or parade of wit and genius ; and so careful to make the auditor attend to the cause and not to the orator ; that no expression, turn or thought ever escape him, such, I mean, as are calculated merely to please or shine. This reservedness, this moderation, in so fine a genius as Demosthenes, and in topics so susceptible of graces and elegance, raises his merit to its highest pitch, and is superior to all encomiums. M. Turreil's translation, though generally very just, does not always preserve that inimitable character, and we sometimes meet with ornaments in it which are not found in the original.

The reader will not take it amiss, if I support what I have declared of Demosthenes's style, by the opinion of two illustrious moderns, which ought to have as much weight as those of the ancients.

The first is from the Archbishop of Cambray's Dialogues upon Eloquence, which are very proper to form the taste, by the judicious reflections with which they abound. He thus speaks of Demosthenes, in his comparison between him and Isocrates. " Isocrates is full of florid and effeminate
 " orations, and with periods laboured with infinite pains to tickle the ear ; whilst Demosthenes
 " touches, warms, and carries away our hearts.
 " The latter is too much concerned for his country, to amuse himself, like Isocrates, in playing upon words : he argues closely, and his
 " sentiments are those of a mind employed wholly
 " in great ideas : his discourse improves and gathers
 " thers

“ thers strength, at every word, by the new arguments he employs. It is a chain of bold and moving figures. Every reader sees plainly, that his whole soul is fixed on the commonwealth. Nature herself speaks in his transports, and art is so exquisite in his pieces, that it does not appear. Nothing was ever equal to his impetuosity and vehemence.” I will immediately present the reader with another passage from Mr. Fenelon, which is still more beautiful, wherein he compares Demosthenes to Cicero.

My second authority is M. de Turreil, who had studied Demosthenes long enough, to discover his character, and the genius of his writings. “ I allow, says he, that we do not find in Æschines that air of rectitude, that impetuosity of style, that force of transcendent veracity which carries away the understanding by the weight of conviction ; a talent that leaves Demosthenes without an equal, and which he applies in a singular manner. Whether he calms or ruffles the mind, we do not find ourselves in any disorder, but think we are obeying the dictates of nature. Whether he persuades or dissuades, we do not perceive any thing that offers violence, but think we are obeying the commands of reason ; for this orator always speaks like nature and reason, and has properly no other style but theirs. Whatever he says flows from that spring. He avoids even the shadow of redundancy. He has no far-fetched embellishments nor flowers. He loves nothing but fire and light. He will not employ glittering weapons, but such only as will do execution. This, in my opinion, is the foundation of that victorious impetuosity which subdued the Athenians, and places Demosthenes above all the orators who ever lived.

“ A peculiar energy, says the same author in
 “ another place, constitutes his character, and
 “ sets him above equality. His discourse is a
 “ series of inductions, conclusions, and demonstra-
 “ tions, formed by common sense. His reasoning,
 “ whose force is ever increasing, rises by degrees
 “ and with precipitation, to the pitch he would
 “ carry it. He attacks openly, he pushes for-
 “ ward, and at last reduces the auditor to such
 “ streights, that there’s no further retreat for him.
 “ But on this occasion the auditor, far from being
 “ ashamed of his defeat, feels the pleasure which
 “ the submitting to reason affords. *Isocrates,*
 “ said Philip, *pushes only with the file, but Demos-*
 “ *thenes fights with the sword.* . . . We see in him
 “ a man who has no other enemies but those of
 “ the state, nor any passion but the love of order
 “ and justice. A man, whose aim is not to daz-
 “ zle but to inform, not to please but to be useful.
 “ He employs no other ornaments, but such as grow
 “ out of his subject ; nor any flowers, but those
 “ he finds in his way. One would conclude, that
 “ he desired nothing farther than to be understood,
 “ and that he gained admiration without seeking
 “ for it. Not that he is devoid of graces, but
 “ then they are those only of an austere kind,
 “ and such as are compatible with his professed
 “ candor. In his writings, truth is not disguised
 “ by paint ; nor does he enervate it upon a pre-
 “ tence of embellishing it ; no kind of ostentation,
 “ or retrospect upon himself ; he neither shews nor
 “ looks upon himself, but his cause only ; and the
 “ subject of this is always the preservation or ad-
 “ vantage of his country.

II.

Of Cicero's Eloquence compared with that of Demosthenes.

" Two orators, though very different in style and character, may yet be equally perfect; so that it would not be easy to determine, which of them we should chuse to imitate.

Perhaps this rule, with which Cicero furnishes us, may be of service in the judgment we are to form between him and Demosthenes.

Both excelled in the three kinds of writing, as every one must do who is truly eloquent. They knew how to vary their style as their subjects varied: sometimes simple and subtil * in causes of small consequence, in narrations and proofs; and at others, adorned and embellished, when there was a necessity of pleasing; sometimes elevated and sublime, when the dignity of the subject required it. * Cicero makes this remark, and he quotes examples for Demosthenes and himself.

Quintilian has drawn a fine parallel between these two orators. † " The qualities, says he, on which eloquence is founded, were alike in both; such as the design, the order, the disposition, the division, the method of preparing the auditors,

" In his oratoribus illud animadvertendum est, posse esse summos, qui inter se sint dissimiles . . . Ita dissimiles erant inter se, statuere ut tamen non posses utrius te malles similio-rem. *Brut. n. 204 & 148.*

" Je me fers ici de ce mot, quoique dans notre langue il porte une autre idée que le

subtilis des Latins.

* In *Orat. n. 102, 103. & 110, 111.*

† Horum ego virtutes plerasque arbitror similes: consilium: ordinem: dividendi, præparandi, probandi rationem: omnia denique quæ sunt inventionis. *Q. l. 10. c. 1.*

" and

“ and the proving ; and, in a word, every thing
 “ that is relative to invention.

“ ^z But there is some difference in their style.
 “ The one is more concise, the other more diffu-
 “ sive ; the one pushes closer to his adversary, the
 “ other allows him a larger spot to fight upon.
 “ The one is always endeavouring to pierce him,
 “ as it were, with the vivacity of his style ; the
 “ other often bears him down with the weight of
 “ his discourse. Nothing can be retrenched from
 “ the one, nor added to the other. Demosthenes
 “ has more care and study, and Cicero more na-
 “ ture and genius.

“ ^a As to raillery and the exciting commiseration,
 “ both which are vastly powerful in eloquence,
 “ Cicero has undoubtedly the advantage in these.

“ ^b But he yields to him in this respect, viz.
 “ that Demosthenes lived before him, and that
 “ Cicero, though a very extraordinary man, owes
 “ part of his merit to the Athenian orator. For
 “ my opinion is, that Cicero having bent all his

^z In eloquendo est aliqua
 diversitas. Densior ille, hic
 copiosior. Ille concludit astri-
 ctius, hic latius pugnat. Ille
 * acumine semper, hic fre-
 quenter & pondere. Illi nihil
 detrahi potest, huic nihil adjici.
 Curæ plus in illo, in hoc na-
 turæ.

^a Salibus certè & commise-
 ratione (qui duo plurimum af-
 fectus valent) vincimus.

^b Cedendum verò in hoc
 quidem, quòd & ille prior fuit,
 & ex magna parte Ciceronem,
 quantus est, fecit. Nam mihi

videtur Marcus Tullius, cum
 se totum ad imitationem Græ-
 corum contulisset, effinxisse
 vim Demosthenis, copiam Pla-
 tonis, jucunditatem Isocratis.
 Nec verò quod in quoque op-
 timum fuit studio consecutus est
 tantum, sed plurimas vel po-
 tius omnes ex se ipso virtutes
 extulit immortalis ingenii bea-
 tissima ubertas. Non enim
 pluvias (ut ait Pindarus) aquas
 colligit, sed vivo gurgite ex-
 undat, dono quodam Providen-
 tiæ gemitus, in quo totas vires
 suas eloquentia experiretur.

* The translator has thus rendered this passage, L'un est toujours subtil
 dans la dispute, &c. I do not think that subtilty is meant here, but believe
 that the metaphor is borrowed from a sword.

“ thoughts to the Greeks, in order to form himself
“ upon their model, compounded his character of
“ Demosthenes’s strength, Plato’s copiousness, and
“ Isocrates’s sweetness. And such was his appli-
“ cation, that he not only extracted every thing
“ extraordinary from those great originals, but
“ produced, as it were, by the happy fruitfulness
“ of his divine genius, the greatest part of those
“ very perfections, or rather all of them. For to
“ use an expression of Pindar, he does not collect
“ the waters of heaven to remedy his natural dri-
“ ness, but finds a spring of living water within
“ himself, which is ever flowing with vehemence
“ and impetuosity ; and one would conclude,
“ that the Gods had given him to the world, in
“ order that eloquence might exert her utmost
“ strength in the person of this great man.

“ And indeed, what man was ever more
“ exact in his instruction, or more forcibly
“ affected the mind ? What orator has such a
“ profusion of charms as him we are speaking of ?
“ These are so great, that we think we grant him
“ what he forces from us ; and when he hurries
“ away the judges by his impetuosity, as though
“ it were a flood, they think they follow him of
“ their own accord, at the very time they are
“ dragged along. Besides, he delivers himself
“ with so much reason and weight, that we are
“ ashamed to differ in opinion from him ? We

“ Nam quis docere diligen-
tius, movere vehementius po-
test ? Cui tanta unquam ju-
cunditas affuit ? ut ipsa illa
quæ extorquet, impetrare eum
credas & cum transversum vi
sua judicem ferat, tamen ille
non rapi videatur, sed sequi.
Jam in omnibus quæ dicit
tanta auctoritas inest, ut dissen-

tire pudeat ; nec advocati stu-
dium, sed testis aut judicis as-
ferat fidem. Cum interim hæc
omnia, quæ vix singula quis-
quam intentissimâ curâ conse-
qui posset, fluunt illaborata : &
illa, quâ nihil pulchrius auditu
est, oratio præ se fert tamen
felicissimam facilitatem.

“ do not find in him the bare zeal of a lawyer,
 “ but the integrity of a witness and of a judge.
 “ And these several particulars, every one of
 “ which would cost another infinite pains, flow
 “ naturally, and, as it were, of themselves from
 “ him; so that his manner of writing, though so
 “ beautiful and inimitable, is nevertheless so easy
 “ and natural, that one would conclude it had not
 “ cost him any labour.

“ ^d His cotemporaries therefore had reason to
 “ say, that he exercised a kind of empire at the
 “ bar. And it was but justice in those who fol-
 “ lowed, to have him in such esteem, that the
 “ name of Cicero is now less the name of a man,
 “ than of eloquence itself. Let us therefore keep
 “ our eyes perpetually fixt on him; let this ora-
 “ tor be our model; and we may depend that
 “ we have made a great improvement when we
 “ love, and have a taste for Cicero.

Quintilian did not dare to form a judgment upon these two great orators; he however seems to be secretly possessed in favour of Cicero.

Father Rapin is equally cautious and reserved in his comparison between those orators; I should be obliged to copy his whole treatise, were I to repeat all his beautiful reflections on this subject. But some short extracts inform us sufficiently of the difference to be found between them.

“ Besides that solidity, says he, speaking of Ci-
 “ cero, which comprized so much sense and pru-
 “ dence, he was master of a certain beauty and
 “ quintessence of wit, which enabled him to embel-
 “ lish all his ideas; and he heightened every thing

^d Quare non immerito ab eloquentiæ nomen habeatur.
 hominibus ætatis suæ regnare Hunc igitur spectemus: hoc
 in judiciis dictus est: apud po- propositum nobis fit exemplum.
 steros verò id consecutus, ut Ille se profecisse sciat, cui Ci-
 Cicero jam non hominis sed cero valde placebit.

“ that

“ that occurred to his imagination, with the most
“ beautiful turns, the most lively colours. What-
“ ever subject he might treat, even the most ab-
“ stracted matters in logic, the drier subjects in
“ physics, the most knotty points in law, or the
“ most intricate in business ; all these, I say, when
“ delivered by him, assumed that sprightliness,
“ those several graces, which were so natural to
“ him. For we must confess, that no man ever
“ spoke with so much judgment or beauty on all
“ subjects.

“ Demosthenes, says he elsewhere, discovers the
“ reality and solidity of every reason that presents
“ itself to his mind, and has the art of displaying
“ it in its greatest strength. Cicero, besides his
“ regard to every thing just and solid, sees what-
“ ever is agreeable and engaging, and traces it
“ directly. In order therefore to distinguish the
“ characters of these two orators by their real
“ difference, methinks we may say, that Demos-
“ thenes, from the impetuosity of his temper, the
“ strength of his reason, and the vehemence of
“ his action, was more forcible than Cicero ; as
“ Cicero, by his soft and delicate deportment, by
“ his gentle, piercing, and passionate emotions,
“ and by the various natural graces, was more
“ affecting than Demosthenes. The Grecian struck
“ the mind by the strength of his expressions,
“ and the ardor and violence of his utterance ;
“ the Roman reached the heart by certain charms
“ and imperceptible beauties, which were natural
“ to him, and which were heightened by all the
“ artifice that eloquence is capable of. The one
“ dazzled the understanding by the splendor of
“ his light, and threw a confusion on the soul
“ which was won by the understanding only ; and
“ the insinuating genius of the other penetrated
“ by a certain gentleness and complacence, to the

“ most hidden recesses of the heart. He had the
 “ art of entring into the concerns, the inclina-
 “ tions, the passions, and sentiments of all who
 “ heard him.

The archbishop of Cambray having more courage than the two excellent writers above cited, declares manifestly in favour of Demosthenes; and yet he cannot be thought to be an enemy to the graces, the flowers, and elegance of speech. He gives us his sentiments on this subject, in his epistle upon eloquence. “ I am not, says he, afraid to
 “ own, that I prefer Demosthenes to Cicero. I
 “ protest no one admires Cicero more than I do :
 “ he adorns every thing he takes in hand : he
 “ does honour to speech : he makes more of
 “ words than any other could : he is possessed of
 “ a variety of genius’s : he is even concise and
 “ vehement whenever he pleases, against Catiline,
 “ Verres, and Anthony ; but we perceive some
 “ embellishment in his orations. They are worked
 “ up with wonderful art, but we see through it.
 “ When the orator thinks of the safety of the
 “ commonwealth, he neither forgets himself, nor
 “ suffers others to do it : but Demosthenes seems
 “ to step out, as it were, from himself, and to
 “ see nothing but his country. He does not
 “ seek after beauties, for they occur to him na-
 “ turally. He is superior to admiration : he
 “ makes use of speech as a modest man does of
 “ clothes : he thunders and lightens : he is a flood,
 “ that sweeps away all things in its progress. We
 “ can’t criticise upon him, because we are capti-
 “ vated by his eloquence. We are attentive to
 “ his ideas, and not to his words : we lose sight
 “ of him, and our whole attention is fixed on
 “ Philip, who invades every thing. Both orators
 “ charm me, but I own myself less affected with
 “ Cicero’s boundless art and magnificent elo-
 “ quence,

“ quence, than with Demosthenes’s rapid simplicity.

These reflections of the archbishop are extremely rational and judicious ; and the closer we examine his opinion, the more we find it conformable to good sense, right reason, and the most exact rules of true rhetorick. But whoever would take upon him to prefer Demosthenes’s orations to those of Cicero, ought, in my opinion, to possess pretty near as much solidity, force and elevation of mind, as Demosthenes must have had to compose them. Whether it be owing to an old prepossession in favour of an author we have constantly read from our tender years ; or that we are accustomed to a style which agrees more with our manners, and is more adapted to our capacities, we cannot be persuaded to prefer the severe austerity of Demosthenes to the insinuating softness of Cicero ; and we chuse to follow our own inclination and taste for an author who is in some measure our friend and acquaintance, rather than to declare, upon the credit of another, in favour of one that is almost a stranger to us.

Cicero knew the high merit of Demosthenes’s eloquence, and was fully sensible of all its strength and beauty : but being persuaded, that an orator may, without deviating from the best rules, form his style to a certain point upon the taste of his auditors, (it is obvious enough that I don’t here mean a depraved or vicious taste) he did not think the age he lived in susceptible of so rigid an exactness^e ; and he thought it necessary to indulge

^e Quapropter ne illis quidem nimium repugno, qui dandum putant nonnihil esse temporibus atque auribus nitidius aliquid atque affectatius postulantis Atque id fecisse M. Tullium video, ut, cum

omnia utilitati, tum partem quandam delectationi daret : cum & ipsam se rem agere diceret (agebat autem maximè) litigatoris. Nam hoc ipso proderat, quod placebat. *Q. 1. 12. c. 10.*

something to the ears and to the delicacy of his auditors, who required more elegance and graces in orations. Thus, he made some allowance to pleasure, but still never lost sight of the cause he was pleading; and he thought he was even then serving his country, which he did effectually, since one of the surest methods of persuading is to please.

The best advice then that can be given to young people who are designed for the bar, is to take for the model of their style, the solid foundation of Demosthenes, embellished with the graces of Cicero: ^f To which, if we may believe Quintilian, nothing can be added, except, says he, that it may perhaps suggest a few more thoughts. He means, no doubt, those which were very much in vogue at that time, and by which, as by so many lively and bright touches, they concluded most of their periods. Cicero ventures upon them sometimes, but it is very rarely; ^g and he was the first among the Romans who gave them a currency. It is very obvious, that what Quintilian says in this place, is nothing but a kind of condescension which the depraved taste of the age seems to have forced from him, ^h when, according to the observation of the author of the Dialogue upon Orators, the auditor thought he had a right to insist upon a florid style; and when even the judge, would not vouchsafe to hear a lawyer, if he were not invited, and in some measure vitiated,

^f Ad cujus voluptates nihil equidem, quod addi possit, invenio, nisi ut sensu nos quidem dicamus plures. *Ibid.*

^g Cicero primus excoluit orationem . . . locosque lætiores attentavit, & quasdam sententias invenit. *Dial. de Or.* #. 22.

^h Auditor assuevit jam exigere lætitiā & pulchritudinem orationis . . . Judex ipse, nisi . . . aut colore sententiarum, aut nitore & cultu descriptionum invitatus & corruptus est, averfatur dicentem. *Ibid.* n. 20.

by the allurements of pleasure, and by the splendor of the thoughts and descriptions.

“ⁱ But, let no one pretend, adds Quintilian, “ to abuse my complaisance, or to carry it farther. I will indulge the age we live in so far, “ as to have the gown now in fashion made of “ something better than coarse stuff, but then it “ must not be of silk; I will allow the hair to “ be neatly disposed, but it must not be in stages “ and in ringlets; for the genteel dress is like- “ wise the most beautiful and becoming, when we “ are not over studious to please.

Had orators kept within these just bounds, and this wise sobriety with regard to ornaments, eloquence would not have degenerated in Athens and Rome.

We may affirm, that the most conspicuous age for eloquence was that of Demosthenes,^k when so great a multitude of excellent orators arose, whose general character was, a natural and unadorned beauty: These orators did not all boast the same genius, nor the same style, but they were all united in the same taste of truth and simplicity; which

ⁱ Sed me hæcenus cedentem nemo insequatur ultra. Do tempori, ne crassa toga sit, non serica: ne intonsum caput, non in gradus atque annulos totum comptum: cum in eo qui se non ad luxuriam ac libidinem referat, eadem speciosiora quoque sint, quæ honestiora. *Quint. l. 12. c. 10.*

^k Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam: &, ut opinio mea fert, succus ille & sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis inesset non fucatus nitor. *Brut. n. 36.*

Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Æschines, Dinarchus, aliique complures, etsi inter se pares non fuerunt, tamen sunt omnes in eodem veritatis imitandæ genere versati. Quorum quamdiu mansit imitatio, tamdiu genus illud dicendi studiumque vixit. Posteaquam, extinctis his, omnis eorum memoria sensim obscurata est & evanuit, alia quædam dicendi molliora ac remissiora genera viguerunt. *2. de Orat. n. 94. 95.*

continued so long as the Athenians imitated those great men; but the remembrance of them growing insensibly more obscure after their death, and being at last quite blotted from people's memory, a new species of eloquence arose, which was softer and more negligent than the antient kind.

Demetrius Phalereus, who might have seen and heard Demosthenes, took a different course, by giving entirely into the florid and embellished species. He thought eloquence ought to appear in gay and sprightly colours, and be divested of that gloomy and rigid air, which made her, in his opinion, too serious. He introduced a great many more thoughts; strewed more flowers over her, and, to use an expression of Quintilian, instead of the majestick, but modest dress she wore in Demosthenes's time, ^k he gave her a sparkling robe, variegated with colours altogether unfit for the dust of the bar, but at the same time very fit to attract and dazzle the eyes of people.

^l Thus Demetrius, being fitter for affairs of pomp and ceremony, than the contests and litigations of the bar, preferred softness to strength; endeavoured more to charm, than to conquer the mind; thought it sufficient to leave the remem-

^k Meminerimus versicolore
illam, qua Demetrius Phalereus
dicebatur uti, vestem non bene
ad forensē pulverem facere.

Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.

^l Phalereus successit eis senibus adolescens, eruditissimus ille quidem horum omnium, sed non tam armis institutus quā palæstra. Itaque delectabat magis Athenienses, quā inflamabat. Processerat enim in solem & pulverem, non ut è militari tabernacula, sed ut è

Theophrasti, doctissimi hominis, umbraculis. Hic primus inflexit orationem, & eam mollem teneramque reddidit: & suavis, sicut fuit, videri maluit, quā gravis, sed suavitate ea qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret; & tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis suæ, non (quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum a quibus esset auditus. *Brut. n. 37, 38.*

brance of a flowing and harmonious discourse in the minds of people, but did not endeavour, like Pericles, to leave at the same time, sharp stings, as it were, blended with the allurements of pleasure.

^m It does not appear by the picture which Cicero had elsewhere drawn of Phalereus, and his opinion of him, that there was yet any thing in his forced and extravagant style; since he says, ⁿ we might esteem and approve it, had it not been compared to the force and majesty of the noble and sublime style. ^o And nevertheless Demetrius was the first who occasioned the decay of eloquence; ^p and perhaps declamations, the practice of which was first introduced into the schools in his time, and possibly might have been invented by him, contributed very much to this fatal decay, as they certainly hastened that of the Roman eloquence.

But things did not long continue in this state. ^q When eloquence, after leaving the Piræum, had begun to breathe another air, she soon lost that sprightliness and flush of health which she had always preserved there; and so being vitiated by foreign manners, she forgot, as it were, the use of speech, and was so changed, that there was no knowing her. Thus she fell by degrees from the *beautiful* and the *perfect*, to the mediate or indifferent, whence she plunged into every kind of error and excess.

^m Orat. n. 91, 96.

ⁿ Et nisi coram erit, comparatus ille fortior, per se hic, quem dico, probabitur. *Orat.* n. 95.

^o Primus inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur, *Quint. l. 10. c. 1.*

^p *Quint. l. 2. c. 4.*

^q Ut semel è Piræo eloquen-

tia evecta est, omnes peragavit insulas, atque ita peregrinata totâ Asiâ est, ut se externis oblineret moribus; omnemque illam salubritatem Atticæ dictionis & quasi sanitatem perderet, ac loqui penè dediceret. *Brut. n. 51.*

I ob-

I observed in another place, in speaking of Seneca, that the Latin eloquence met with the same fate.

Possibly the same reasons may justly make us apprehend the like misfortune, especially when we consider that those changes proceeded wholly, both in the Athenian and Roman eloquence, from an extravagant desire of setting her off with too much pomp and parade. For I know not by what fatality it has always happened, that as soon as taste was arrived at a certain degree of maturity and perfection, it almost immediately degenerated, and fell by imperceptible gradations, though sometimes very suddenly, from the summit of perfection to barbarity. I except, however, the Greek poetry, every species of which from Homer to Theocritus and his contemporaries, that is, for six or seven centuries, preserved the same purity, and the same elegance.

We may affirm, to the glory of our own nation, that our taste with regard to polite literature, has been exquisite for near a century, and still continues so. But it is remarkable, that those celebrated writers, who have done so much honour to France, each of whom may be considered as an original in his way, thought it a duty incumbent on them, to consider the ancients as their masters; and that the writings in the greatest esteem among us, and which in all probability will descend to the latest posterity, are all formed on the model of the celebrated among the ancients. This must likewise be our rule; and we may believe that we are deviating from perfection; according as we deviate from the taste of the ancients.

But to return, and conclude this article, the best model for youth designed for the bar, is, as was before observed, Demosthenes's style, softened and adorned with that of Cicero, in such a manner, that

that the severity of the former may be softened by the graces of the latter ; and that the conciseness and vivacity of Demosthenes may correct the luxuriance, and perhaps the too loose way of writing with which Cicero is reproached.

A more florid kind of eloquence, such, for example, as that of M. Flechier, is no way suitable to lawyers. I never read the picture which Cicero gives of an orator of his time called Callidius, but I discover most of M. Flechier's principal characters in it ; and the reflection he makes upon it, seems to me very well adapted to the matter I am now treating. “ He was not, says he, an orator of an ordinary rank, but one of singular and uncommon merit. His thoughts are great and

* Dial. de Orat. n. 18.

† Sed de M. Callidio dicamus aliquid, qui non fuit orator unus è multis : potiùs inter multos prope singularis fuit : ita reconditas exquisitasque sententias mollis & pellucens vestiebat oratio. Nihil tam tenerum quàm illius comprehensio verborum : nihil tam flexibile : nihil quod magis ipsius arbitrio fingeretur, ut nullius oratoris æquè in potestate fuerit. Quæ primum ita pura erat, ut nihil liquidius : ita liberè fluebat, ut nusquam adhæresceret. Nullum nisi loco positum, & tanquam in vermiculato emblemate, ut ait Lucilius, structum verbum videres. Nec vero ullum aut durum, aut insolens, aut humile, aut in longius ductum. Ac non propria verba rerum, sed pleraque tralata : sic tamen ut ea, non irruisse in alienum locum, sed immigrasse in suum diceret,

Nec verò hæc soluta, nec diffusuentia, sed adstricta numeris, non apertè nec eodem modo semper, sed variè dissimulanteque conclusis. Erant autem & verborum & sententiarum lumina quibus tanquam insignibus in ornatu distinguebatur omnis oratio Accedebat ordo rerum plenus artis, totumque dicendi placidum & sanum genus. Quòd si est optimum suaviter dicere, nihil est quod melius hoc quærendum putes. Sed cùm a nobis paulo antè dictum sit, tria videri esse quæ orator efficere deberet, ut doceret, ut delectaret, ut moveret : duo summè tenuit, ut & rem illustraret disserendo, & animos eorum qui audirent demulceret voluptate. Aberat tertia illa laus qua permoveret atque incitaret animos, quam plurimum pollere diximus. *Brut.* n. 274, 275, 276.

“ exquisite,

“ exquisite, and he cloaths them in delicate words.
“ He managed a discourse as he pleased, and
“ could throw it into any form ; no orator was
“ ever more master of his subject, or handled it
“ with greater art. Nothing is purer or more
“ flowing than his diction ; every word stands in
“ its proper place, and is set in, as it were, by
“ a masterly hand. He admits nothing harsh,
“ obsolete, low, or that can confuse or disorder a
“ discourse. He uses metaphors frequently, but
“ they are so natural, that they seem less to as-
“ sume the place of other words, than to possess
“ their own. All this is accompanied with har-
“ mony and a beautifully various cadence, that is
“ far from affected. He aptly employs the most
“ beautiful figures, which throw a strong lustre
“ over his writings. We see the utmost art and
“ justness in the order and plan of his work ;
“ and the style of the whole is easy, calm, and
“ in an exquisite taste. In a word, if eloquence
“ consisted in beauty only, nothing could be su-
“ perior to this orator. Of the three parts which
“ constitute it, he is a perfect master of the two
“ first ; I mean those which tend to please and in-
“ struct ; but he is quite deficient in the third
“ species, which is the most considerable, I mean
“ that by which the passions are moved.

We ought certainly to set a high value upon this kind of eloquence ; but in what light will it appear when compared to the great and the sublime, which is the characteristic of that of Demosthenes ? The latter resembles those beautiful and magnificent buildings, formed after the taste of antient architecture, that admits only of simple ornaments ; the first view of which, and much more the plan, the œconomy and distribution of the several parts, exhibit something so great, noble and majestic, that they strike the artist's eye at once. The other
may

may be compared to houses built in an elegant and delicate taste, which art and affluence have assembled, whatever is rich and splendid; in which gold and marble are every where seen, and where the eye is perpetually delighted with something rare and exquisite.

There is a third kind of eloquence which, in my opinion, is also inferior to the second, and may lead us insensibly to something worse, I mean that which abounds with fallies of wit, bright thoughts, and a kind of points, which are now so much in vogue. These are supportable in some of our writers, by the justness of the ideas, the force of the arguments, the order and series of the discourse, and the natural beauty of their genius. But as the last qualities are seldom found, we have just reason to fear that their imitators will copy all the vices and defects of their style, in the same manner as those who imitated Seneca; * for these by copying nothing but his faults, were as much inferior to the model they had proposed to follow, as Seneca himself is inferior to the antients.

The bar was always, but now more than ever, an enemy to this dazzling, affected style. The grave discourses of those judicious magistrates, who when they prescribe the true rules of eloquence every year to the lawyers, point out at the same time perfect models to them, are strong barriers against a vicious taste; and contribute very much towards perpetuating, in courts of justice, that happy tradition of good taste, as well as just sentiments, which have so long continued in them.

Before I conclude this article, I must discuss a topic, in which several young students will one day

* Amabant eum magis, quàm antiquis descenderat. *Quintil.*
imitabantur; tantumque ab illo defluebant, quantum ille ab
l. 10. c. 1.

want to be instructed ; I mean, to point out the style proper for *Reports*. This branch is of much more frequent use, and more extensive in our days than the eloquence of the bar ; for it takes in all who are concerned in the law, and is practised in all the superior and inferior courts, in all companies, in all public offices, and in all commissions. To succeed in this kind of declaration is as glorious as the pleading of causes, and as useful for the defence of justice and innocence. However, I can treat but very slightly of this matter here, and will only explain the principles of it, without making any deep enquiry.

I am sensible that every company and every court, have their particular usages and customs in reporting cases. But all have the same foundation ; and the style, on these occasions, must be the same every where. There is a sort of eloquence fit for this kind of discourse, which consists, if I am not mistaken, in speaking with perspicuity and elegance.

The end proposed by a person who reports cases, is, to inform the judges his colleagues of the affair, upon which they are to give judgment in conjunction with him. He is charged, in their names, with the examination of it. He becomes on that occasion, the eye, as it were, of the company. He communicates to them all the lights and informations possible. But to do this effectually, the subject he undertakes to treat, must be so methodized ; the several facts and proofs must be so disposed ; and the whole must be so perspicuous and clear, that all may easily comprehend the *report*. All things must conspire to this perspicuity, the thoughts, the expressions, the turns, and even the utterance, which must be distinct, easy and calm.

I observed, that to beauty must be joined perspicuity, because we must often please in order to instruct. Judges are but men, and though they are attached to truth and justice, abstracted from all other considerations, it is yet proper to engage them still more, by some alluring charm. Causes which are generally obscure and full of difficulties, occasion tediousness and disgust, if the person who makes the report does not take care to render it agreeable by a certain elegance and delicacy of wit, which strikes us without affecting to display itself, and by a certain charm and grace, awakens and excites the attention of the audience.

Addresses to the passions, which in other cases are the source of the strongest force in eloquence, are here absolutely prohibited. The person who makes the report, does not speak as an advocate but as a judge. In this view, he maintains one of the characteristics of the law, which, while it is serene and calm itself, points out the rule and the duty; and as he himself is commanded to be without passions, he is not allowed to attempt to excite them in others.

This manner of speaking, which is not supported either by the beauty of thoughts and of expressions, by the boldness of figures, or by the pathos of the passions, but which has only an easy, simple and natural air and turn in it, is the only one which is suitable to those who make reports, and is at the same time not so easy to be attained as may be imagined.

I would willingly apply what Tully says of Scaurus's eloquence to that of one who makes reports. This orator tells us, that it did not suit the vivacity of pleading, but was very well adapted to the gravity of a senator, who was more considerable for his solidity and dignity, than for pomp and shew; and

and whose consummate prudence, joined to the highest sincerity, forced the auditors to give their assent. For on this occasion, the reputation of a judge constitutes part of his eloquence, and the idea we entertain of his integrity adds great weight and authority to his discourse. " *In Scauri oratione, sapientis hominis & recti, gravitas summa & naturalis quædam inerat auctoritas : non ut causam, sed ut testimonium dicere putares, cum pro reo diceret. Hoc dicendi genus ad patrocinia mediocriter aptum videbatur ; ad senatoriam verò sententiam, cujus erat ille princeps, vel maxime : significabat enim non prudentiam solum, sed, quod maxime rem continebat, fidem.*

It is therefore manifest, that those who would succeed in *Reports*, must carefully study the first, or simple kind of eloquence ; must enter thoroughly into the genius and taste of it, and copy from the best models ; must use the second species of eloquence, *viz.* the flowery and mediate kind, very sparingly ; borrow only a few touches and beauties from it, with a wise circumspection, and that very rarely ; but as to the third kind, (the sublime style) they must absolutely never make use of it.

The practice of the universities, especially in the classes of rhetoric and philosophy, may be very useful to young people, in preparing them for making reports. After explaining one of Tully's orations, the pupils are obliged to give an account of it, to display its several parts, to distinguish the various proofs, and make remarks upon such passages as are strong or weak. In philosophy likewise, it is the custom after reading some excellent treatises of that kind to them, such as Descartes and Malbranche, to discuss them thoroughly, to

reduce arguments which often are very long and abstracted, to some conciseness and perspicuity, to set the difficulties and objections in their full light, and to subjoin the solutions deduced from them. I have heard young lawyers own, that of all the university exercises, this was the most advantageous, and of greatest use to them in reports.

ARTICLE II.

How Youth may prepare themselves for Pleading.

SINCE Demosthenes and Cicero arrived at perfection in eloquence, they are the most proper to point out the path which youth must follow to attain it. I will therefore give a short relation of what we are told concerning their tender years, their education, the different exercises by which they prepared themselves for pleading, and what formed their greatest merit, and established their reputation. Thus, these two great orators will serve at the same time, for models and guides to youth. I do not however pretend to say, they must or can imitate them in every thing; but should they follow them only at a distance, they yet would find a great improvement by it.

Demosthenes.

* Demosthenes having lost his father, at the age of seven years, and falling into the hands of selfish and covetous guardians, who were wholly bent upon plundering his estate; was not educated with the care which so excellent a genius as his deserved: not to mention that the delicacy of his constitution,

* Plut. in Vita Demosth.

his ill state of health, and the excessive fondness of his mother, did not allow his masters to urge him to pursue his studies.

Demosthenes hearing them one day speak of a famous cause that was to be pleaded, and which made a great noise in the city, importuned them very much to carry him with them to the bar, in order to hear the pleadings. The orator whose name was Callistratus, was heard with great attention, and having been very successful, was conducted home, in a ceremonious manner, amidst a croud of illustrious citizens, who expressed the highest satisfaction. Demosthenes was strongly affected with the honours which were paid the orator, and still more with the absolute and despotic power which eloquence has over the mind. Demosthenes himself was sensible of its force, and unable to resist its charms; he from that day devoted himself entirely to it, and immediately laid aside every other pleasure and study.

Isocrates's school, * which formed so many great orators, was at that time the most famous in Athens. But whether the sordid avarice of Demosthenes's tutors hindered him from improving under a master who made his pupils pay very dear † for their instruction, or whether the gentle and calm eloquence of Isocrates was not then suitable to his taste, he was placed under Isæus, ‡ whose eloquence was forcible and vehement. He found, however, an opportunity to procure the precepts of rhetoric, as taught by Isocrates. Plato indeed contributed most to the forming of

* Isocratescujus è ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt. 2. de Orat. n. 94.

† Ten minæ, or five hundred French livres.

‡ Sermo promptus, & Isæo torrentior. Juven.

Demosthenes. * And we plainly discover the noble and sublime style of the master, in the writings of his pupil.

His first essay of eloquence was against his tutors, whom he obliged to restore part of his fortune. Encouraged by this happy success, he ventured to speak before the people; but acquitted himself very ill on that occasion. Demosthenes had a faint voice, stammered in his speech, and had a very short breath; and yet his periods were so long, that he was often obliged to pause, in order to take breath. He therefore was hissed by the whole audience, and thereupon went home quite dejected, and determined to abandon for ever a profession to which he imagined himself unequal. But one of his hearers, who perceived an excellent genius amidst his faults, and an eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, encouraged him, by the strong remonstrances he made, and the salutary advice he gave him.

He therefore appeared a second time before the people, but with no better success than the first. As he was going home with down-cast eyes, and full of confusion, he was met by his friend Satyrus, one of the best actors of the age; who being informed of the cause of his chagrin, told Demosthenes, that the misfortune was not past a remedy, nor so desperate as he imagined. He desired Demosthenes only to repeat some of Euripides or Sophocles's verses before him; which he immediately did. Upon this Satyrus repeating them after him, he gave them quite another grace by the tone of voice, the gesture, and vivacity with which he spoke them; so that Demosthenes

* Illud iusjurandum per cæ- manifestò docet præceptorem
fos in Marathone ac Salamine ejus Platonem fuisse. *Quintil.*
propugnatores reipublicæ satis l. 12. c. 10.

observed they had a quite different effect. This made him sensible of what he wanted, and he applied himself in order to acquire it.

His endeavours to correct the natural impediment in his speech, and to perfect himself in utterance, the advantage whereof his friend had made him so sensible, seemed almost incredible, and demonstrate, that indefatigable industry conquers every thing. ^b He stammered to such a degree, that he could not even pronounce certain letters; and among others, that which began the name of the art he was studying; and his breath was so short, that he could not utter a whole period without stopping. However, Demosthenes overcame all these obstacles, by putting little pebbles into his mouth, and then repeating several verses one after another, without taking breath; and this even when he walked, and ascended very craggy and steep places: so that he at last could pronounce all the letters without hesitating, and speak the longest periods without once taking breath. But this was not all; ^c for he used to go

^b Orator imitetur illum, cui sine dubio summa vis dicendi conceditur, Atheniensem Demosthenem, in quo tantum studium fuisse tantusque labor dicitur, ut primum impedimenta naturæ diligentia industriaque superaret: cumque ita balbus esset, ut ejus ipsius artis, cui studeret, primam literam non posset dicere, perfecit meditando ut nemo planius eo locutus putaretur. Deinde cum spiritus ejus esset angustior, tantum continenda anima in dicendo est affectus, ut una continuatione verborum (id quod scripta ejus declarant) binæ ei

contentiones vocis & remissiones continerentur. Qui etiam (ut memoriæ proditum est) conjectis in os calculis, summa voce versus multos uno spiritu pronuntiare consuebat: neque id consistens in loco, sed inambulans atque adscensu ingrediens arduo. 1. *de Orat.* n. 260, 261.

^c Propter quæ idem ille tantus amator secreti Demosthenes, in littore, in quod se maximo cum sono fluctus illideret, meditans consuebat concionum fremitus non expavescere. *Quint.* l. 10. c. 13.

to the sea-shore, and speak his orations when the sea was most boisterous, in order to prepare himself, by the confused noise of the waves, for the uproar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of assemblies. He had a large glass, which was his master for action; and before this he used to declaim, before he spoke in publick. He was well paid for his trouble, since by this method he carried the art of declamation to the highest perfection it can attain to.

His application to study in other respects, was equal to the pains he took to conquer his natural defects. He had a closet made under ground, that he might be remote from noise and disturbance; and this was standing in Plutarch's time. There he shut himself up for months together, and had half his head shaved, on purpose that he might be kept from going abroad. It was there he composed, by the light of a small lamp, those excellent harangues which smelt, as his enemies gave out, of the oil; to insinuate, they were too much laboured. 'Tis very plain, replied he, yours did not cost you so much trouble. He was a very early riser, and ^d used to be under great concern when any artificer got to work before him. We may judge of his endeavours to perfect himself in every kind of learning, by the pains he took in copying Thucydides's history no less than eight times, with his own hand, in order to make his style more familiar to him.

CICERO.

Cicero was born with a very fine genius, and had likewise the best education^c, in which he

^d Cui non sunt auditæ Demosthenis vigilæ? qui dolere se aiebat, si quando opificum antelucana victus esset industria. 4. *Tusc. quæst. n. 44.*
^e 2. De Orat. n. 2.

was more happy than Demosthenes. His father took particular care of it, and spared nothing to cultivate his talents. It appears that the famous Crassus, whom he so often mentions in his works, was pleased to direct the plan of his studies, and assigned him such preceptors as would conspire with him in his design of forming Cicero ^f. The poet Archias inspired him, being then very young, with the first elements of taste for polite literature; which Cicero himself tells us, in the eloquent oration he made in defence of his master.

No child ever discovered more ardour for study than Cicero. Children were at that time taught by none but Greeks; and he performed such things in their language, as deserve to be taken notice of. Plotius was the first who altered that custom, and taught in Latin. He was a Gaul ^g, and had a very famous school. People sent their children to it from all parts, and those of the best taste approved his method very much. Cicero was inflamed with a desire of hearing such a master; but those who had the chief management of his education and studies, did not think proper to gratify him, because that method of teaching, which was not practised or heard of till that time, appeared to the magistrates a dangerous innovation; and the censors, of whom Crassus was one, made a decree to prohibit it, without

^f Quoad longissimè potest mens mea respicere spatium præteriti temporis, & pueritiæ memoriæ recordari ultimam, inde usque repetens, hunc video mihi principem & ad suspiciendam & ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum extitisse. *Orat. pro Arch. n. 1.*

^g Equidem memoria teneo, pueris nobis primum latine do-

cere cœpisse Lucium Plotium quemdam: ad quem cùm fieret concursus, quòd studiosissimus quisque apud eum exerceretur, dolebam mihi idem non licere. Continebar autem doctissimorum hominum auctoritatè, qui existimabant græcis exercitationibus ali melius ingenia posse. *Epist. Cicer. apud Suet. de claris Rhetoribus.*

giving

giving any other reason, but that the custom was contrary to the practice established by their ancestors ^h. Crassus, or rather Cicero in his name, endeavours to justify this decree in the best manner he could, which had given offence to the people of the best understanding; and he hints, that the new plan itself was not so much condemned, as the method the masters took in teaching it. And indeed, ⁱ this plan prevailed at last, and people were sensible of the benefit and advantages which accrued from it, as Suetonius informs us, who has preserved Cicero's epistle, wherein he speaks of Plotius, together with the censors order, and the decree of the senate.

^k In the mean time, Cicero made a great progress under his masters. And indeed, he had such a genius as Plato wished for; a strong thirst for learning, a mind fit for sciences, and that took in all things. Poetry was one of his first passions, and 'tis related that he succeeded tolerably well in it. From his infant years, he distinguished himself in so remarkable a manner among those of his own age, that the parents of his school-fellows hearing of his extraordinary genius, came on purpose to the school to be eye-witnesses of it; and were charmed with what they saw and heard. His merit must have been accompanied with great modesty, since his companions were the first who proclaimed it, and paid him such honours, as raised the jealousy of some of their parents.

At sixteen, which was the time youth were allowed to wear the *toga virilis*, or manly gown,

^h 3. de Orat. n. 93, 95.

ⁱ Paulatim & ipsa utilis honestaque apparuit: multique

eam præsidii causa & gloriæ appetiverunt. Sueton. Ibid.

^k Plut. in vitæ Cicer.

Cicero's studies became more serious. ^l It was a custom then at Rome for the father or next relation of a youth come to the age we are now speaking of, and designed for the bar, to present him to one of the most celebrated orators, and put him under his protection. After this, the young man devoted himself to his patron in a particular manner; went to hear him plead, consulted him about his studies, and did nothing without his advice. Being thus accustomed betimes to breathe, as it were, the air of the bar, which is the best school for a young lawyer; and as he was the disciple of the greatest masters, and formed on the most finished models, he was soon able to imitate them.

^m Cicero himself tells us, this was his custom, and that he was a diligent hearer of the ablest orators in Rome. He devoted several hours every day to reading and composition; and 'tis very probable, that what he makes Crassus ⁿ say, in his books *de Oratore*, he himself had practised in his youth; that is, to translate the finest pieces of the Greek orators into Latin, in order to imbibe their style and genius.

^o He did not confine himself barely to the study

^l Ergo apud majores nostros juvenis ille, qui foro & eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus jam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis, deducebatur à patre, vel à propinquis, ad eum oratorem qui principem locum in civitate tenebat. Hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, hujus omnibus dictionibus interesse Atque hercule sub ejusmodi præceptionibus juvenis ille de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, fori auditor, secta-

tor judiciorum, eruditus & assuetus alienis experimentis. . . . solus statim & unus cui-cumque causæ par erat. *Dial. de Orat.* n. 34.

^m Reliquos frequenter audiens acerrimo studio tenebar, quotidieque & scribens, & legens, & commentans, oratoris tantum exercitationibus contentus non eram. *Brut.* n. 305.

ⁿ 1. de Orat. n. 155.

^o Brut. n. 306.

of

of eloquence ; for that of the law appeared to him one of the most necessary, and he devoted himself to it with uncommon application. He likewise got a thorough knowledge of philosophy in all its branches ^p ; and he proves in several places, that it contributed infinitely more than rhetoric towards making him an orator. ^q He had the best philosophers of the age for his masters.

Cicero did not begin to plead till he was about six and twenty. The disorders of the commonwealth had hindered him from attempting it sooner. ^r His first essays were so many masterpieces, and they immediately gained him a reputation almost equal to that of the oldest lawyers. His defence of Sextus Roscius, and especially the part relating to the punishment of parricides, had extraordinary success, and gained him great applause ; and so much the more, in regard none had courage to undertake the cause, on account of the exorbitant credit of Chrysogonus, freed-man to Sylla the dictator, whose power in the commonwealth was at that time unlimited.

^s The sensible pleasure his rising reputation gave him, was allayed by the ill state of his health.

His

^p Egò fateor, me oratorem, si modo sim, aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiæ spatiis extitisse. *Orat. n. 12.*

^q Brut. n. 305 & 309.

^r Prima causa publica pro Sexto Roscio dicta, tantum commendationis habuit, ut non ulla esset, quæ non nostro digna patrocinio videretur. *Brut. n. 312.*

Quantis illa clamoribus adolescentuli diximus de supplicio parricidarum ? *Orat. n. 107.*

^s Erat eo tempore in nobis summa gracilitas & infirmitas corporis ; procerum & tenue collum : qui habitus & quæ figura non procul abesse putatur à vitæ periculo, si accedit labor, & laterum magna contentio. Eoque magis hoc eos, quibus eram carus, commovebat, quod omnia sine remissione, sine varietate, vi summa vocis, & totius corporis contentione dicebam. Itaque cum me & amici & medici hortarentur, ut causas agere desisterem

His constitution was very tender ; the drudgery of the bar, together with his quick and vehement manner of writing and speaking, made people fear he would sink under their weight ; and all his friends and the physicians enjoined him silence and retirement. It was a kind of death to him to renounce wholly the pleasing hopes of glory which the bar seemed to offer him. He thought it would be enough to soften a little the vehemence of his style and pronounciation, and that a voyage might restore his health. And accordingly, he set out for Asia. Some indeed imagined, a political reason made his absence necessary, in order that he might avoid the consequence of Chrysogonus's resentment.

* He took Athens in his way, and continued there above six months. 'Tis easy to judge how one who had so much love for study, employed that time in a city which was still looked upon as the seat of the most delicate literature, and the fountest philosophy. " From Athens he went to Asia, where he consulted all the able professors of eloquence he could meet with. And not contented with all the treasures he had amassed there, he proceeded to Rhodes, purposely to hear the celebrated Molo. Though he had already acquired great reputation among the lawyers of Rome, he yet was not in the least ashamed of again taking lessons under him, and of becoming his disciple a second time. " But he had no reason to repent of

sisterem : quodvis potius periculum mihi adeundem, quàm à sperata dicendi gloria discedendum putavi. Sed cum censerem remissione & moderatione vocis, & commutato genere dicendi, me & periculum vitare posse & temperatius dicere ; ea causa mihi in Asiam profi-

ciscendi fuit. *Brut. n. 313, 314.*

* *Brut. n. 315.*

" *Brut. n. 315 & 316.*

" Is Molo ! dedit operam, si modò id consequi potuit, ut nimis redundantes nos & superfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impunitate & licentia reprimeret,

of it; for this great master, taking him again under his tuition, corrected the remaining imperfections of his style; and compleatly retrenched that extravagant redundancy which like a river that overflowed its banks, have neither measure or boundaries.

* Cicero returned to Rome after two years absence, not only more accomplished, but almost a new man. He had acquired a sweeter voice; his style was become more correct and less verbose; and even his body was grown stronger. y He found two orators at Rome who had gained great reputation, and whom he much desired to equal; these were Cotta and Hortensius, but especially the latter, who was pretty near of the same age with himself, and whose manner of writing bore a nearer resemblance to his own. 'Tis not an idle curiosity in young men designed for the bar, to see those two great orators contending for prizes, like two wrestlers, and disputing for victory with one another during several years, through a noble emulation. I'll here relate a part of what Cicero tells us on that subject.

z Hortensius wanted none of those qualifications,
either

primeret, & quasi extra ripas
diffuentes coaceret. *Brut.*
n. 316.

M. Tullius, cum jam clarum
meruisset inter patronos qui
tum erant nomen . . . Appol-
lonio Moloni, quem Romæ
quoque audierat, Rhodi se rur-
sus formandum ac velut re-
coquendum dedit. *Quint. l. 12.*
c. 6.

* Ita recepi me biennio post,
non modò exercitator, sed
prope mutatus. Nam & con-
tentio nimia vocis reciderat, &

quasi defuerat oratio, lateri-
busque vires & corporis medio-
cris habitus accesserat. *Brut.*
n. 316.

y Duo tum excellabant ora-
tores, qui me imitandi cupidi-
tate incitarent, Cotta & Hor-
tensius . . . Cum Hortensio
mihi magis arbitrabar rem
esse; quòd & dicendi ardore
eram propior, & ætate conjunc-
tior. *Brut. n. 317.*

z Nihil isti, neque à natura,
neque à doctrina defuit . . .
Erat ingenio peracri, & studio
flagranti,

either natural or acquired, which form the great orator. He had a lively genius, an inconceivable thirst after study, a pretty large extent of knowledge, a prodigious memory, and so perfect a manner of utterance, that the most celebrated actors of his time went on purpose to hear him, to form themselves by his example for gesture and declamation. Thus he made a shining figure at the bar, and acquired great reputation.

• But there being nothing farther to rouse his ambition after he was raised to the consulship; and wishing for a more happy way of life, as he imagined, or at least a more easy one, with the great possessions he had acquired; he began to grow careless, and abated very much of the warmth he had always entertained for study from his childhood. There was some difference in his manner of pleading the first, second, and third years after his consulship; but this was scarce perceivable; and none but the learned could observe it: as happens to pictures, the brightness of whose colours decays insensibly. This declension encreased with his years; and when his fire and vivacity left him, he grew every day more unlike himself.

• Cicero however redoubling his efforts, made a very

flagranti, & doctrina eximia
& memoria singulari. 3. *de*
Orat. n. 229, 230.

^a Post consulatum
summum illud suum studium
remisit, quo à puero fuerat in-
census: atque in omnium re-
rum abundantia voluit beatius,
ut ipse putabat, remissiùs certè
vivere. Primus, & secundus
annus, & tertius tantum quasi
de picturæ veteris colore de-
traxerat, quantum non quivis

unus ex populo, sed existimator
doctus & intelligens posset cog-
noscere. Longius autem pro-
cedens, & in cæteris eloquentiæ
partibus, tum maximè in cele-
ritate & continuatione verborum
adhærescens: sui dissimilior
videbatur fieri quotidie. *Brut.*
n. 320.

^b Nos autem non desisteba-
mus, cùm omni genere exerci-
tationis, tum maximè stilo, no-
strum illud quod erat augere :
quan-

very great progress, endeavouring to come up with his rival, and even outstrip him, if possible, in that noble career of glory, where pleaders are allowed to dispute the palm with their best friends. A new species of eloquence, beautiful as well as energetic, which he introduced in the bar, drew peoples eyes upon him, and made him the object of public admiration. He himself gives an excellent picture of this, but in a curious and delicate manner; and by observing what was wanting in others, and shewing by that means what was admired in himself. I'll transcribe the whole passage, because youth will there find all the parts which form the great orator.

“ No person at that time, says Cicero, made polite literature his particular study, without which there is no perfect eloquence. No one studied philosophy thoroughly, which alone teaches us at one and the same time, to live

quantumcunque erat . . . Nam cum propter assiduitatem in causis & industriam, tum propter exquisitius & minimè vulgare orationis genus, animos hominum ad me dicendi novitate converteram. *n. 521.*

“ Nihil de me dicam; dicam de ceteris, quorum nemo erat qui videretur exquisitiùs quam vulgus hominum studuisse literis, quibus fons perfectæ eloquentiæ continetur: nemo, qui philosophiam complexus esset, matrem omnium bene factorum beneque dictorum: nemo, qui jus civile didicisset, rem ad privatas causas, & ad oratoris prudentiam, maximè necessariam: nemo, qui memoriam rerum Romanarum

teneret, ex qua, si quando opus esset, ab inferis locupletissimos testes excitaret: nemo, qui breviter argutéque incluso adversario, laxaret judicum animos, atque à severitate paulisper ad hilaritatem risumque traduceret: nemo, qui dilatare posset, atque à propria ac definita disputatione hominis ac temporis ad communem questionem universi generis orationem traduceret: nemo, qui delectandi gratiâ digredi parumper à causa: nemo qui ad iracundiam magnopere judicem, nemo, qui ad fletum posset adducere: nemo, qui animum ejus, (quod unum est oratoris maximè proprium) quocumque res postularet impelleret. *Brut. n. 322.*

“ well and speak well. No one learnt the civil
 “ law, which is absolutely necessary for an ora-
 “ tor, to enable him to plead well in private
 “ causes, and form a true judgment of public af-
 “ fairs. There was no person well skilled in the
 “ Roman history, or able to make a proper use
 “ of it in pleading. No one could raise a cheer-
 “ fulness in the judges, and unruffle them, as it
 “ were, by seasonable railleries, after having vi-
 “ gorously pushed his adversary, by the strength
 “ and solidity of his arguments : no one had the
 “ art of transferring or converting the circum-
 “ stance of a private affair into a common or ge-
 “ neral one : no person could sometimes depart
 “ from his subject by prudent digressions, thereby
 “ to give a beauty to his own speech : in fine,
 “ no person could incline the judges sometimes to
 “ anger, sometimes to compassion ; and inspire
 “ them with whatever sensations he pleased, where-
 “ in, however, the principal merit of an orator
 “ consists.”

^d Cicero's great success roused Hortensius from his lethargy, especially when he saw him promoted to the consulate ; fearing, no doubt, that now he was equal to him in dignity, he would surpass him in merit. They afterwards pleaded together for twelve years, lived in great unity, and had an esteem for one another, each exalting the other very much above himself. But the public gave the preference to Cicero without hesitation.

^d Itaque, cum jam penè evanisset Hortensius, & ego consul factus essem, revocare se ad industriam coepit : ne, cum pares honore essemus, aliqua re superior viderer. Sic duo-

decim post meum consulatum annos in maximis causis, cum ego mihi illum, sibi me ille anteferet, conjunctissimè versati sumus. *Brut. n. 313.*

* The latter orator tells us the reason why Hortensius was more agreeable to the public in his youth, than in his advanced years. He gave into a florid kind of eloquence, enriched with happy expressions; a great beauty and delicacy of thought, which was often more dazzling than just; an uncommon correctness, justness, and elegance. His discourses thus laboured with infinite care and art, enlivened by a musical voice, an agreeable action, and a perfect utterance, were exceeding pleasing in a young man, and at first engrossed the suffrages of all. But afterwards this kind of gay eloquence became unseasonable, because the weight of the public employments he had passed through, and the maturity of his years, required something more grave and serious. He was always the same orator, had always the same style, but not the same success. Besides, as his ardor for study was very much abated, and that he did not take so much pains as formerly, the thoughts which

* Si quærimus cur adolescens magis floruerit dicendo, quam senior, Hortensius: causas reperiemus verissimas duas. Primum, quod genus erat orationis Asiaticum, adolescentiæ magis concessum, quam senectuti. . . . Itaque Hortensius hoc genere florens, clamores faciebat adolescens. . . . Erat in verborum splendore elegans, compositione aptus, facultate copiosus. . . . Vox canora & suavis: motus & gestus etiam plus artis habebat quam erat oratori satis. Habebat illud studium crebrarum venustarumque sententiarum: in quibus erant quædam magis venustæ dulcesque sententiæ, quam aut necessariæ, aut interdum utiles.

Et erat oratio cum incitata & vibrans, tum etiam accurata & polita. . . . Et si genus illud dicendi auctoritatis habebat parum, tamen aptum esse ætati videbatur. Et certè, quod ingenii quadam forma lucebat. . . . summam hominum admirationem excitabat. Sed cum jam honores, & illa senior auctoritas gravius quiddam requireret; remanebat idem, nec decebat idem. Quodque exercitationem studiumque dimiserat, quod in eo fuerat acerrimum, concinnitas illa crebritasque sententiarum pristina manebat, sed ea vestitu illo orationis, quo consueverat, ornata non erat. *Brut.* 325, 326, 327, & 303.

till

till then had brightned his pieces, no longer boasting their former dress, but appearing with a negligent air, lost most of their splendour, and by that means made the orator sink very much in his reputation.

REFLECTIONS

Upon what has been now offered.

The bare relation I have made of the conduct of the greatest orators of antiquity, will sufficiently point out to youth designed for the bar, the path they are to follow, if they propose to arrive at the same period of glory.

I. The first and principal thing they must do, is to form a grand idea of their profession. For though it does not now lead to the chief employments in the state; as formerly at Athens and at Rome; yet what esteem does it not gain those who distinguish themselves in it, either in pleading or in giving advice? Can any thing delight a private man more, than to see his house frequented by persons of the greatest rank, and even by

Quid est præclarius, quam honoribus & reip. muneribus perfunctum senem, posse suo jure dicere idem, apud Ennium dicat ille Pythius Apollo, se eum esse, UNDE tibi, si non POPULI ET REGES, at omnes sui cives CONSILIUM EXPETANT,

SUARUM RERUM INCERTI: QUOSEGO MEA OPE EX INCERTIS CERTOS, COMPOTESQUE CONSILII DIMITTO, UT NE RES TEMERE TRACTENT TURBIDAS.

Est enim sine dubio domus jurisconsulti totius oraculum civitatis. r. de Orat. n. 166, 200.

Ulla-ne tanta ingentium opum ac magnæ potentiæ voluptas, quam spectare homines veteres & senes & totius urbis gratia subnixos, in summa omnium rerum abundantia consistentes id quod optimum se non habere. *Dialog. de Orat. n. 6.*

Princes;

Princes, who in all their doubts and necessities resort to him as to an oracle, to pay homage to his profession and extraordinary abilities, and to acknowledge a superiority of learning and prudence which riches and grandeur cannot bestow. Is there any finer sight than to see a numerous auditory attentive, immoveable, and, as it were, hanging on the lips of a pleader, who manages so artfully his words, seemingly common to all, that he charms and ravishes the minds of his hearers, and makes himself absolute master over them? But besides this glory, which would be trifling enough, were there no other motive; what solid joy is it for a virtuous man to think he has received a talent from God which makes him the sanctuary of the unfortunate, the protector of justice; and enables him to defend the lives, fortunes, and honours of his fellow-subjects?

2. A natural consequence of this first reflection is, that those designed for the bar should prepare themselves for a profession of such great importance, and imitate, at least at a distance, the vigour and indefatigable warmth of Demosthenes and Cicero. I am convinced, that genius is the first and most necessary quality for a pleader; and am likewise well apprized, that study is of great service. 'Tis like a second nature, and if it does not communicate a genius to him who had none before, it however rectifies, polishes, improves,

* Cum ad inveniendum en-
dicendo tria sint, acumen, ra-
tio, diligentia: non possum e-
quidem non ingenio primas
concedere: sed tamen ipsum
ingenium diligentia etiam ex
tarditate incitat. Hæc
præcipuè colenda est nobis:
hæc semper adhibenda: hæc ni-

hil est quod non assequatur. .
Reliqua sunt in cura, atten-
tione animi, cogitatione, vigi-
lantia, assiduitate, labore:
complectar uno verbo, quò
sæpe jam usi sumus, diligentia;
qua una virtute omnes virtutes
reliquæ continentur. 2. de Orat.
n. 147, 148, 150.

and sets it off. And Cicero had great reason to insist very much upon this article, and to assert, that every thing in eloquence depends on the care, the pains, the application and vigilance of an orator.

3. The knowledge of the law, and its different customs, form properly the science of the lawyer ; and to pretend to plead without those advantages, is to attempt the raising of a great building, without laying a foundation.

4. The talent of speaking constitutes an orator ; it is, as it were, the instrument which enables him to make use of all the rest. But in my opinion, it is not enough cultivated. Whether it be the effect of idleness, or a confidence in ourselves, we generally think genius alone will enable us to excel in it. But Cicero is of another opinion. His endeavours to attain perfection in this particular, would seem incredible, did not he himself attest it in several places. He must be the model to youth in this and every thing else. To imbibe rhetoric from the very fountain, to consult able masters, to read carefully the antients and moderns, to be constantly employed in composing and translating, and to make his language a particular study : these were the exercises which Cicero thought necessary to form the great orator.

5. But of all the qualifications of an orator, action and utterance are the most neglected ; and yet nothing contributes more towards giving success to speeches. ^b That external eloquence, as Cicero calls it, which is adapted to the capacities of all the auditors, in regard it speaks to the senses

^a Est actio quasi corporis quædam eloquentia. Nam & infantes, actionis dignitate, eloquentiæ sæpe fructum tulerunt : & diserti, deformitate agendi, multi infantes putati sunt. *Orat. n. 55, 56.*

only, has something so enchanting and dazling, that it often supplies the place of every other merit, and sets a lawyer of no great parts above those of the greatest abilities. ⁱ Every one has heard the celebrated answer of Demosthenes, concerning the qualification which he thought most necessary for an orator, the want whereof could least be concealed, and which at the same time was best adapted to conceal the rest. This induced him to make incredible efforts to succeed in it. Cicero imitated him in that, as in every thing else; and he was in some measure obliged to it, from the desire he had to equal Hortensius, who excelled in that particular. The example of both must be a powerful incitement to young lawyers.

6. A great many of these, in my opinion, want a certain quintessence of polite literature and erudition, which embellish however, and enrich the understanding vastly, and diffuse a delicacy and a beauty over the discourse, which cannot be effected without it. The reading of antient authors, the Greeks especially, is very much neglected. How closely did Cicero study them! Orators, poets, historians, philosophers, he was acquainted with them all, and made them all of service to him; and the latter more than the rest. Young lawyers ought not to attempt pleading too soon, but should employ their time, at their first setting out, in acquiring a valuable and necessary fund of knowledge, which cannot be attained afterwards. I own the practice of the bar is the best master, and most capable of making them great lawyers:

ⁱ Actio in dicendo una dominatur. Sine hac summus orator esse in numero nullo potest: mediocris, hac instructus, summus sæpe superare. Huic pri-

mas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum: huic secundas, huic tertias. 3. *de Orat.* n. 213.

but it should not consist, at first, in frequent pleading. There we listen assiduously to great orators, we study their genius, we observe their deportment, we are attentive to the opinions which the learned give of them; and thus we endeavour to improve equally by their perfections and their defects.

7. If it should be asked, what is the proper age for going to the bar, and pleading at it? I answer, that 'tis a thing which cannot be brought to any fixed rule; and Quintilian's advice upon this matter is very prudent. "A medium, says he, must be observed; so that a youth should not expose himself in publick, before he is capable of doing it with advantage; nor make a parade of his knowledge, whilst 'tis crude and undigested, if I may use the expression: for by that means he will despise pains and study; impudence takes deep root in him; and, what is a greater misfortune, confidence and boldness prevail over vigour and strength. But he must not, on the other hand, wait till he grows old, for then he will grow more timid every day; and the longer he delays, the more fearful he will be to venture to speak in publick: so that, whilst he is deliberating whether it is time to begin, he finds it is too late."

8. It were very much to be wished, that the custom, observed formerly among the Romans,

* Modus mihi videtur quidam tenendus, ut neque præproperè distringatur immatura frons, & quicquid est illud adhuc acerbum proferatur. Nam inde & contemptus operis nascitur, & fundamenta jaciuntur impudentiæ, & (quod est ubique perniciosissimum) præ-

venit vires fiducia. Nec rursus differendum est tyrocinium in senectutem. Nam quotidie metus crescit, majusque fit semper quod ausuri sumus: &, dum deliberamus quando incipiendum sit, incipere jam serum est. *Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 6.*

should take place among us ; and that the houses of old lawyers should be, as it were, the school of the youth designed for the bar. What can be more worthy a great orator, than to conclude the glorious course of his pleading, by so honourable a function ? ¹ We shall see, says Quintilian, a whole company of studious young people frequenting his house, and consulting him upon the proper methods of speaking. He forms them, as though he were the father of eloquence ; and, like an old experienced pilot, points out to them the course they are to steer, and the rocks they must shun, when he sees them ready to set sail.

ARTICLE the THIRD.

Of the Lawyer's morals.

I Did not think proper to conclude this little treatise on the eloquence of the bar, without saying something of the lawyer's morals, and the chief qualifications requisite to his profession. Youth will find this subject treated in all the extent it deserves, in the twelfth book of Quintilian's institutions, which is the most laboured and most useful part of his work.

I. *Probity.*

Cicero and Quintilian lay it down as an indisputable principle in several parts of their works,

¹ Frequentabant ejus domum optimi juvenes more veterum, & veram dicendi viam velut ex oraculo petent. Hos ille formabit quasi eloquentiæ parens, &, ut vetus gubernator,

littora, & portus, & quæ tempestatum signa, quod secundis flatibus, quid adversis ratis poscat, docebit. *Quintil.* l. 12. c. 11.

that eloquence must not be separated from probity; that the talent of speaking well supposes and requires that of living well; and that to be an orator, a man must be virtuous, agreeable to Cato's definition: *Orator vir bonus dicendi peritus.*

^m Without this, says Quintilian, eloquence, which is the most beautiful gift that nature can bestow upon man, and by which she has distinguished him in a particular manner from other living creatures, would prove a fatal present to him; and be so far from doing him any service, that she would rather treat him as a step-mother, and like an enemy rather than a mother, by indulging him a talent for no other end, but to oppose innocence, and fight against truth, like the putting a sword into the hands of a madman. It would be better, adds he, that a man should be destitute of speech, and even of reason, than to employ them to such pernicious ends.

The slightest attention will discover how necessary honesty is to a pleader. His whole design is to persuade; ⁿ and the surest way of effecting it, is to prepossess the judge in his favour, so as that he may look upon him as a man of veracity and

^m Si vis illa dicendi malitiam instruxerit, nihil sit publicis privatisque rebus perniciosius eloquentia Rerum ipsa natura, in eo quod præcipuè indulgisse homini videtur, quoque nos à ceteris animalibus separasse, non parens sed noverca fuerit, si facultatem dicendi sociam scelerum, adversam innocentiae, hostem veritatis invenit. Mutos enim nasci, & egere omni ratione fatius fuisset, quàm Providentiæ munera in mutuam pernici-

ciem convertere. *Quintil. l. 12. c. 1.*

ⁿ Plurimum ad omnia momenti est in hoc positum, si vir bonus creditur. Sic enim continget, ut non studium advocati videatur afferre, sed penè testis fidem. *Quint. l. 4. c. 1.*

Sic proderit plurimum causis, quibus ex sua bonitate faciet fidem. Nam qui, dum dicit, malus videtur, utique malè dicit. *l. 6. c. 3.*

Videtur talis advocatus malæ causæ argumentum. *l. 12. c. 1.*

candour,

candour, full of honour and sincerity; who may be entirely trusted; is a mortal enemy to a lye, and incapable of tricks and cunning. In his pleadings, he should appear not only with the vigour of a lawyer, but likewise with the authority of a witness. The reputation he has acquired of being an honest man, will give great weight to his arguments: whereas when an orator is disesteemed, or even suspected by the judges, 'tis an unhappy omen to the cause.

II. *Disinterestedness.*

° The question treated by Quintilian in the last book of his rhetoric, whether lawyers ought to plead without fees or gratuity, does not square with the manners or customs of our days; but the principles he there lays down, suit all ages and times.

P He begins with declaring, that it would be infinitely more noble and becoming so honourable a profession, not to sell their service, nor debase the merit of so great a benefit, since most things may seem contemptible, when a price is set upon them.

¶ He afterwards owns, that if a lawyer has not

° Quint. l. 12. c. 7.

P Quis ignorat quia id longè fit honestissimum ac liberalibus disciplinis & illo quem exigimus animo dignissimum, non vendere operam, nec elevare tanti beneficii auctoritatem? cum pleraque hoc ipso possint videri vilia, quòd pretium habent.

¶ At si res familiaris amplius aliquid ad usus necessarios exiget, secundum omnes sapien-

tium leges patietur sibi gratiam referri Neque enim video quæ justior acquirendi ratio, quàm ex honestissimo labore, & ab iis de quibus optimè meruerint, quique, si nihil invicem præstent, indigni fuerint defensione. Quod quidem non justum modò, sed necessarium etiam est, cum hæc ipsa opera, tempusque omne alienis negotiis datum, facultatem aliter acquirendi recidunt.

estate enough of his own, he then is allowed by the laws of all wise legislators, to accept some gratuity from the party he pleads for; since no acquisition can be more just than that which proceeds from such honest labour, and is given by those for whom we have performed such important services; and who would certainly be very unworthy, if they failed to acknowledge them. Besides, as the time which a lawyer bestows upon other peoples affairs, prevents him from thinking of his own; 'tis not only just, but necessary he should not lose by his profession.

But Quintilian would have the lawyer even in this case, keep within very narrow bounds; and be very watchful in observing the person from whom he receives any gratuity, together with the quantity, and the time he intends to receive. By which he seems to insinuate, that the poor should be served *gratis*, and that he should take but moderately even from the rich: in fine, that the lawyer should forbear receiving any gratuity, after he has acquired a reasonable fortune.

He must never look upon what his clients offer him, as though it were a payment or a salary, but as a mark of friendship and acknowledgment; well knowing he does infinitely more for them than they do for him; and he must make this use of it, because a good office of that kind ought neither to be sold nor lost.

Sed tum quoque tenendus est modus: ac plurimum resert & à quo accipiat, & quantum, & quousque. . . . Nec quisquam, qui sufficientia sibi (modica autem hæc sunt) possidebit, hunc quæstum sine crimine fordidum fecerit.

Nihil ergo acquirere volet orator ultra quàm satis erit: nec pauper quidem tanquam mercedem accipiet, sed mutua benevolentia utetur, cum sciat se tanto plus præstitisse: quia nec venire hoc beneficium oportet, nec perire.

* As to the custom of making agreements with clients, and taxing them in proportion to the danger they are in; 'tis, says Quintilian, an abominable kind of traffick, fitter for a pirate than for an orator, and which even those who have but a slender love for virtue, will avoid.

Far therefore from the bar, and so glorious a profession, says he in another place, be those mean and mercenary souls who make a trade of eloquence, and think of nothing but sordid gain. The precepts, says he, which I give concerning this art, don't suit any person who would be capable of computing the profit or advantage of his labours and study.

If a heathen has such noble sentiments and expressions, how much more glorious and disinterested should the views of a lawyer be upon the principles of Christianity? And indeed we see this spirit prevail among our lawyers. They are so delicate in this point, as to deprive themselves of all suits for payment of their fees; which is carried so far, that they would disown any member of their profession, who should commence any suit, or retain his client's papers, in order to oblige him to make some acknowledgment for the assistance he had given him.

III. *Delicacy in the choice of Causes.*

" As soon as we suppose the orator a worthy man,

† *Paciscendi quidem ille piraticus mos, & imponentium periculis pretia procul abominanda negotiatio, etiam medicriter improbis aberit.*

Neque enim nobis operis amor est: nec, quia sit honesta atque pulcherrima rerum elo-

quentia, petitur ipsa, sed ad vilem usum & sordidum lucrum accingimur Ne velim quidem lectorem dari mihi quid studia referant computaturum.

Quint. l. 1. c. 20.

" Non convenit ei quem oratorem esse volumus, injusta tueri

man, 'tis plain he can never undertake a cause he knows to be unjust. Justice and truth only have a right to the assistance of his voice. Guilt has no title to it, how splendid or reputable soever it may appear. His eloquence is a sanctuary for virtue only, and a safe haven for all, except pirates.

* Before therefore a man discharges the function of a lawyer, he must perform that of a judge; he must raise a kind of domestick tribunal in his closet, and there carefully, and without prejudice, weigh and examine the arguments of his clients, and pronounce a severe judgment against them, in case it be necessary.

* If even, in the course of the affair, he happens, by a stricter enquiry into the title, to discover that the cause he undertook, as thinking it honest, is unjust; he then must give his client notice of it, and not abuse him any longer with vain hopes; and advise him not to prosecute a suit which would prove very fatal to him, even though he should gain it. If he submits to his advice, he will do him great service; if he despises it, he is unworthy of any farther assistance from his lawyer.

tueri scientem Neque defendet omnes orator: idemque portum illum eloquentiæ suæ salutarem, non etiam piratis patefaciet, duceturque in advocacionem maximè causa. *Quint. l. 12. c. 7.*

* Sic causam perscrutatus, propositis ante oculos omnibus quæ profint noceant-ve, personam deinde induat judicis, fingatque apud se agi causam. *Ibid. c. 8.*

* Neque verò pudor obstat quominus susceptam, cum melior videretur, litem, cognita inter disceptandum iniquitate, dimittat, cum prius litigatori dixerit verum. Nam & in hoc maximum, si æqui judices sumus, beneficium est, ut non fallamus vana spe litigantem. Neque est dignus operâ patroni, qui non utitur consilio. *Ibid. c. 7.*

IV. Prudence and moderation in pleading.

These virtues are chiefly necessary on the score of raillery. There are certain genteel and becoming rules on this subject, which every orator, and even every gentleman, should observe inviolably. ^y 'Tis not necessary to remark, that it would be inhuman to insult people in disgrace, when their very condition entitles them to compassion, and who besides may be unfortunate, without being criminal. ^z In general, our raillery should be inoffensive; and we must take care not to fall into the same error with those, who would lose a friend rather than a jest.

^a There is nothing but moderation in using jests, and prudence in applying them, that distinguish an orator, in this respect, from a buffoon. This employs the latter at all times, and without any occasion: whereas the orator does it seldom, and always for some reason essential to his cause, and never barely to raise ^b laughter; which is a very trifling kind of pleasure, and the product of a mean genius.

^c Repartees give occasion sometimes for delicate raillery;

^y Adversus miseros inhumanus est jocus.

^z * Lædere nunquam velimus, longèque absit propositum illud, potius amicum quam dictum perdidit. *Quint. l. 6.*

c. 4.

^a Temporis ratio, & ipsius dicacitatis moderatio, & temperantia, & raritas dictorum, distinguet oratorem à scurra: & quod nos cum causa dicimus,

non ut ridiculi videamur, sed ut proficiamus aliquid; illi totum diem, & sine causa. *2. de Orat. n. 247.*

^b Risum quæsit: qui est, mea sententia, vel tenuissimus ingenii fructus. *Ibid.*

^c Dicacitas posita in hac veluti jaculatione verborum, & inclusa breviter urbanitate. *2. l. 6. c. 4.*

Ante illud facetè dictum hæ-
rere

* I am of opinion, that it ought to be read so, instead of ludere, as it is in all the editions.

raillery ; and so much the more sprightly, as it is more concise ; and flies immediately like a dart, piercing almost before it was perceived. These flights of wit, which are neither studied nor prepared, are much more graceful than those we bring from our closets, and which often, for that very reason, appear cold and puerile. Besides, the adversary has no reason to complain, because he brought the raillery upon himself, and can impute it to nothing but his own imprudence. ^d *Why do you bark ?* said Philip one day to Catulus, alluding to his name, and the great noise he made in pleading : *Because I see a thief*, answered Catulus.

^e Repartees of this kind require a great presence and celerity of mind, if we may use the expression ; for they leave no room for reflection ; and the blow must be given the instant we are attacked. But they require still more prudence and moderation. ^f For how much must a man be master of his temper, to repel even in the very heat of action and debate, a jest which starts up on a sudden, and might do us honour ; but would at the same time offend persons for whom we are obliged to

tere debet, quàm cogitari posse videatur. 2. de Orat. n. 219.

Omnia probabiliora sunt, quæ laceffiti dicimus, quàm quæ priores. Nam & ingenli celeritas major est quæ apparet in respondendo, & humanitatis est responsio. Videmur enim quieturi fuisse, nisi essemus laceffiti. 2. de Orat. n. 230.

Quæsitæ, nec ex tempore factæ, sed domo allatæ, plerumque sunt frigida. Orat. n. 89.

^g Catulus, dicenti Philippo :

QUID LATRAS ? FUREM, inquit, VIDEO. 2. de Orat. n. 220.

^e Opus est imprimis ingenio veloci ac mobili, animo præfenti & acri. Non enim cogitandum, sed dicendum statim est, & prope sub conatu adversarii manus erigenda. Quint. l. 6. c. 5.

^f Hominibus facietis & dicibus difficillimum est habere hominum rationem & temporum, & ea quæ occurrant, cum falsissimè dici possint, tenere. 2. de Orat. n. 221.

have

have some deference? The way to succeed in it, is to slight, and not pique ourselves upon so dangerous a talent; and to acquire a habit of speaking moderately and with caution, in conversation and common life.

If a lawyer is not allowed to use harsh and offensive raillery, with how much more reason ought he to abstain from gross language? This is an inhuman kind of pleasure, unworthy of a gentleman, and which must necessarily disgust a prudent auditor. Yet some clients, often more solicitous to revenge than defend themselves, force this kind of eloquence from the orator; and are not pleased with him, if he does not dip his pen in the bitterest gall. But who is the lawyer, if he has any sentiments of honour or probity left, that would thus blindly gratify the spleen and resentment of his client; become violent and passionate at his nod, and make himself the unworthy minister of another's passion, from a fordid spirit of avarice, or a mistaken desire of false glory?

V. Wise emulation remote from mean and low jealousy.

No place, in my opinion, is more proper to excite and cherish a lively and prudent emulation than the bar. 'Tis a great concourse of people in whom the most valuable qualities are united; as beauty and strength of genius, delicacy of wit,

§ Turpis voluptas, & inhumana, & nulli audientium bono grata; à litigatoribus quidem frequenter exigitur, qui ultionem malunt quam defensionem. Hoc quidem quis hominum liberi modò sanguinis

sustineat, petulans esse ad alterius arbitrium? . . . Orator à viro bono in rabulam latratoremque convertitur, compositus, non ad animum judicis, sed ad stomachum litigatoris. 2. l. 12. c. 9.

solidity

solidity of judgment, a refined taste, a vast extent of knowledge, and long experience. There we see combats fought every day between famous champions, in the presence of learned and judicious magistrates, and amidst an extraordinary concourse of spectators, drawn thither by the importance of the affairs, and the reputation of the speakers. There eloquence exhibits herself in every shape; in one, grave and serious; in another, sprightly and gay; sometimes, unprepared and negligent; at others, in her finest dress, and arrayed with all her ornaments; diffusive or contracted, soft or strong, sublime and majestic, or more simple and familiar, as the cause varies. Not a single word is there lost; no beauty, no defect escape the attentive and intelligent auditors: and whilst the judges on one hand, with the scale in their hands, in the presence and in the name of Supreme Justice, determine the fate of private persons: the public, on the other, in a tribunal no less inaccessible to favour, determine concerning the merit and reputation of lawyers, and give a judgment, whence there is no appeal.

Nothing, in my opinion, can raise the glory of the bar more, than to see such a spirit of equity and moderation prevail in the body of lawyers, as gives every one his due, and banishes all jealousy and envy, and that amidst all those exercises which are so capable of fomenting self-love; and when the antient lawyers, almost upon the point of going out of the circle, where they were so often crowded, joyfully see a new swarm of young orators entering it, in order to succeed them in their labours, and support the honour of a profession that is still dear to them, and for which they cannot forbear interesting themselves; and when the latter, so far from suffering themselves to be dazzled by their growing reputation, pay
a great

a great deference to their seniors, and respect them as their fathers and masters : in a word, when the same emulation prevails among the young lawyers, which was seen formerly between Hortensius and Cicero, of which the latter has left us a fine description. ^h I was very far, says he, speaking of Hortensius, from looking upon him as an enemy, or a dangerous rival. I loved and esteemed him as the spectator and companion of my glory. I was sensible how advantageous it was for me to have such an adversary, and the honour which accrued to me for having sometimes an opportunity to dispute the victory with him. Neither of us ever opposed the other's interest. It was a pleasure to us to assist one another, by communicating our lights, giving advice mutually, and supporting each other by reciprocal esteem ; which had such an effect, that each placed his friend above himself.

The bar therefore may be an excellent school for young lawyers, not only with regard to eloquence but to virtue, if they are capable of improving by the good examples it gives them. They are young and unexperienced, and consequently ought to determine little, but to hear and consult very much. How great soever their understandings or abilities may be, they yet ought to be very modest. This virtue, which is the ornament of

^h Dolebam quòd non, ut plerique putabant, adversarium aut obtrectatorem laudum mearum, sed socium potius & confortem gloriosi laboris amiseram . . . Quo enim animo ejus mortem ferre debui, cum quo certare erat gloriosius, quàm omnino adversarium non habere ? cum præsertim non modò nunquam sit, aut illius

à me cursus impeditus, aut ab illo meus, sed contrà semper alter ab altero adjutus & communicando, & monendo, & favendo. *Brut. n. 2, 3.*

Sic duodecim post meum consulatùm annos in maximis causis, cum ego mihi illum, sibi me ille anteferreret, conjunctissimè versati sumus. *Ibid. n. 223.*

their

their age, at the same time that it conceals their merit, will set it off the more. But above all, they must shun that mean kind of jealousy which is tortured at another's glory and reputation; whereas it should form the band of friendship and unity. They must, I say, shun jealousy, as being the most shameful vice, the most unworthy a man of honour, and the greatest enemy to society.



SECTION IV.

OF THE ELOQUENCE OF THE PULPIT.

SAINTE Austin, in his excellent work, called *the Christian Doctrine*, which we cannot recommend too much to the professors of rhetoric, distinguishes two things in the Christian orator; what he speaks, and his manner of speaking it; the things in themselves, and the method of discussing them, which he calls *sapienter dicere, eloquenter dicere*. I will begin with the latter, and conclude with the former.

FIRST PART.

Of the manner in which a Preacher must deliver himself.

† Saint Austin, pursuant to Cicero's plan of the

† *Equalitas vestra, & artium studiorumque quasi finitima vicinitas, tantum abest ab obtrectatione invidiæ, quæ solet lacere plerosque, uti ea non modò*

non exulcerare vestram gratiam, sed etiam conciliare videatur. *Brut. a. 156.*

‡ *De doctr. Chr. l. 4. n. 27.*

duties of an orator, tells us they consist in instructing, pleasing, and touching or affecting. *Dixit quidam eloquens, & verum dixit, ita dicere debere eloquentem, ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat*¹. He repeats the same thing in other terms, saying the Christian orator must speak in such a manner as to be heard *intelligenter, libenter, obedienter*; viz. that we should comprehend what he says, hear it with pleasure, and consent to what he would persuade us. ^m For preaching has three ends: That the truth should be known to us, should be heard with pleasure, and affect us. *Ut veritas pateat, ut veritas placeat, ut veritas moveat*. I myself will pursue the same plan, and go through the three duties of a Christian orator.

I. DUTY OF A PREACHER.

To instruct, and for that end to speak clearly.

Since the preacher speaks in order to instruct, and has equal obligations to all, to the ignorant and the poor, as much and perhaps more than to the learned and the rich; his chief care must be to make himself clearly understood: every thing must contribute to this end: the disposition, the thoughts, the expression, and the utterance.

'Tis a vicious taste in some orators, ⁿ to imagine they have a great deal of understanding, when much is required to comprehend them. They don't consider, that every discourse which wants

¹ N. 30.

^m N. 61.

ⁿ Tunc demum ingeniosi sci- licet, si ad intelligendos nos opus sit ingenio. *Quintil. in*

proem. lib. 8.

Otiosum (or, vitiosum) sermonem dixerim, quem auditor suo ingenio non intelligit. *Q. l. 8. c. 2.*

an interpreter, is a very bad one. ° The supreme perfection or a preacher's style should be to please the unlearned as well as the learned, by exhibiting an abundance of graces for the latter, and being very perspicuous for the former. But in case those advantages cannot be united, p St. Austin would have us sacrifice the first to the second, and neglect ornaments, and even purity of diction, if it will contribute to make us more intelligible; because it is for that end we speak. This sort of neglect, which requires some genius and art, as q he observes after Cicero, and which proceeds from our being more attentive to things than to words, must not, however, be carried so far as to make the discourse low and groveling, but only clearer and more intelligible.

St. Austin wrote at first against the Manichees, in a flowery and sublime style; whence his writings were unintelligible to those who had but a moderate share of learning, at least not without great difficulty. r Upon this he was told, that if he desired to have his works more generally use-

° Ita & sermo doctis probabilis, & planus imperitis erit. *Ibid.*

p Cujus evidentiae diligens appetitus aliquando negligit verba cultiora, nec curat quid bene sonet, sed quid indicet atque intimet quod ostendere intendit. Unde ait quidam, cum de tali genere locutionis ageret, esse in ea quandam diligentem negligentiam. Hæc tamen sic detrahit ornatum, ut sordes non contrahat. *S. August. de doct. christ. l. 2. c. 24.*

q Melius est reprehendant nos grammatici, quam non intelligant populi. *Id. in. Psal. 138.*

q Indicat non ingratiā negligentiam, de re hominis magis, quam de verbis, laborantis. . . . Quædam etiam negligentia est diligens. *Orat. n. 77 & 78.*

r Me benevolentissimè monuerunt: ut communem loquendi consuetudinem non defererem, si errores illos tam perniciosos ab animis etiam imperitorum expellere cogitarem. Hunc enim sermonem usitatum & simplicem etiam docti intelligunt, illum autem indocti non intelligunt. *De Gen. contra Manich. l. 1. c. 1.*

ful, he must write in the plain and common style, which has this advantage over the other, that it is equally intelligible to the learned and the unlearned. The holy father received this advice with his usual humility, and made proper use of it in the books he afterwards wrote against the heretics, and in his sermons. His example ought to be the standard of all those who are to instruct others.

As obscurity is the fault which the preacher must chiefly avoid, and that his auditors are not allowed to interrupt him, when they meet with any thing obscure; [†] St. Austin advises him to read in the eyes and countenances of his auditors, whether they understand him or not; and to repeat the same thing by giving it different turns, till he perceives he is understood; an advantage which those cannot have, who by a slavish dependence on their memories learn their sermons by heart, and repeat them as so many lessons.

That which generally occasions obscurity in discourse, is our endeavouring to explain ourselves always with brevity and conciseness. One had better say too much, than too little. A style that is every where sprightly and concise, such as that of Salust, or of Tertullian for instance, may suit works which are not intended to be spoken, and give the reader time and liberty to read them again; but it is not proper for a sermon, the rapidity of which

X 2

might

[†] Ubi omnes tacent ut audiat unus, & in eum intenta ora convertunt, ibi ut requirat quisque quod non intellexerit, nec moris est, nec decoris: ac per hoc debet maximè tacenti subvenire cura dicentis. Solet autem motu suo significare utrum intellexerit cognoscendi avida multitudo: quod donec significet, versandum est quod

agitur multimoda varietate dicendi: quod in potestate non habent, qui præparata & ad verbum memoriter retenta pronuntiant. *S. Aug. de doct. christ.* l. 4. n. 25.

[†] Cavenda, quæ nimium corripientes omnia sequitur, obscuritas; satiusque est aliquid (orationi) superesse, quàm deesse. . . . Vitanda illa Salustiana

might escape the most attentive auditor. " It must not even be supposed, that he is always so, and consequently the discourse ought to be so clear, as to awaken even the most unattentive, in like manner as the sun strikes our eyes, without our thinking of it, and almost in spite of us. The supreme effect of this quality does not consist in making ourselves understood, but in speaking in such a manner that we cannot be misunderstood.

The necessity of perspicuity in Catechists.

The necessity of the principle I have now laid down, appears in its greatest evidence, with regard to the first instructions given to young people, which I look upon as a primary kind of preaching, more difficult than is generally imagined, and oftentimes more useful than the brightest and most laboured discourses. 'Tis allowed that a catechist who teaches children the first elements of religion, cannot be too clear and intelligible. No thought or expression should fall from him above their capacities. Every thing ought to be adapted to their strength, or rather to their weakness. We must say but few things to them, express them clearly, and repeat them often; we must not speak hastily, or with rapidity, but pronounce every syllable articulately; give

ana (quanquam in ipso virtutis locum obtinet) brevitatis, & abruptum sermonis genus, quod otiosum fortasse lectorem minus fallit, audientem transvolat, nec dum repetatur expectat. *Quintil. l. 4. c. 2.*

" Idipsum in consilio est habendum, non semper tam esse acrem (auditoris) intentionem, ut obscuritatem apud se ipse

discutiat, & tenebris orationis inferat quoddam intelligentiae suae lumen; sed multis eum frequenter cogitationibus advocari, nisi tam clara fuerint quae dicemus, ut in animum ejus oratio, ut sol in oculos, etiamsi non intendatur, incurrat. Quare, non ut intelligere possit, sed ne omnino possit non intelligere, curandum. *Quint. l. 8. c. 2.*

them

them short and clear definitions, and always in the same words ; make the several truths apparent to them by known examples, and familiar comparisons ; we must speak little to them, and make them speak a great deal, which is one of the most essential duties of a catechist, and the least practised ; and above all, must call to mind the happy saying of Quintilian, * that a child's mind is like a vessel with a narrow neck, in which no water will enter, if poured abundantly into it ; whereas it fills insensibly, if the liquid be transfused gently, or even by drops. The catechist must proceed gradually from these plain steps to something stronger and more elevated, according to the proficiency he observes in the children ; but he must always take care to adapt himself to their capacity, and their weakness ; and to descend to them, because they are not in a condition to raise themselves to him.

This task, which is one of the most important in the ecclesiastical ministry, is not, generally speaking, esteemed or respected enough. People seldom prepare themselves for it with the care it deserves ; and as the difficulty and importance of it are little known, we too often neglect the means which might facilitate its success. Whoever takes this charge upon himself, ought to peruse, with great attention, St. Austin's admirable treatise upon the method of instructing catechumens, in which that great man, after giving excellent rules upon

* Magistri hoc opus est, cum adhuc rudia tractabit ingenia, non statim onerare infirmitatem discipulorum, sed temperare vires suas, & ad intellectum audientis descendere. Nam ut vascula oris angusti superfluum humoris copiam respuant, sensim

autem influentibus, vel etiam instillatis, complentur: sic animi puerorum quantum accipere possint videndum est. Nam majora intellectu velut parum aptos ad percipiendum animos non subibunt, *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 3.

this point, vouchsafes to propose a plan of the best method (in his opinion) for instructing them in the principles of religion.

I think it would be of great advantage to form a general scheme or plan of the different catechisms made in parishes, in order that they might serve as a foundation to all the instructions, and regulate both the matter and disposition; so that all the catechisms might contain the same instructions, but treated in a more or less extensive manner, as the children should be more or less improved. These catechisms may be divided into three classes, the first for beginners, the second for those who have already received some instruction, and the third for such as are more advanced, and are prepared for receiving the first communion, or have lately received it. I suppose children to continue in each class about two years; in which time, the plan I have now mentioned, be it what it will, is to be explained to them (for it is highly reasonable to leave it to the choice and prudence of the person who is at the head of the catechists) always subjoining the catechism of the diocess. The matters are at first treated briefly, and in general terms, because they are calculated for children. M. Fleury's catechism is excellent for beginners, and may be looked upon as the execution of the plan which St. Augustin gives us in his treatise. The same matters are repeated in the second and third classes; but in a new method, which is always an improvement of that which preceded, by adding to it new lights, and more efficacious truths. Would not religion be thus taught thoroughly? I have seen some children even among the poor, make surprizingly clear responses upon very difficult subjects, which could be owing to nothing but the master's order and method of teaching, and which shews that young people are capable

capable of every thing when they are well instructed.

I own, that nothing is more tedious or distasteful to a man of genius, who often has a great deal of vivacity, than thus to teach the first principles of religion to children, who very often want either capacity or attention. But must not others have had the same patience with us, when they taught us the alphabet, orthography, and the joining of words; and when we ourselves learnt the catechism? * Is it agreeable to a father, says St. Austin, to stammer out half words with his son, in order to teach him to speak? Yet this gives him great pleasure. Does not a mother take more delight in putting aliment into her infant's mouth suitable to its weak and tender condition, than to take the nourishment proper for herself? We must perpetually call to mind the tenderness of a hen who covers her young ones with her dragging feathers; and hearing their feeble cries, calls them with a trembling voice, in order to shelter them from the bird of prey, who unrelentingly snatches away such as do not fly for safety to their mother's wings. † The love and charity of Christ, who vouchsafed to apply this comparison to himself, has been infinitely more extensive, and it was in imitation of him, that St. Paul ‡ *made himself weak with the weak, in order to gain the weak; and had, for all the faithful, the gentleness and a tenderness of a nurse and a mother.*

* Num delectat, nisi amor inviet, decurtata & mutilata verba immurmurare? Et tamen optant homines habere infantes quibus id exhibeant: & suavius est matri minuta mansa inspuere parvulo filio, quam ipsam mandere ac devorare grandiora. Non ergo recedat de pectore etiam cogitatio gal-

linæ illius, quæ languidulis pen- nis teneros fœtus operit, & fufur- rantes pullos contracta voce ad- vocat: cujus blandas alas refu- gientes superbi, præda fiunt alitibus. *De catechis. rudib.* c. 10 & 12.

† Matth. xxiii. 37.

‡ 1 Cor. ix. 22.

* 1 Theff. ii. 7.

^b This, says St. Austin, is what we must represent to ourselves, when we are tired or disgusted ; when we have no inclination to descend to the *puerility* and weakness of children ; and to repeat incessantly to them the most trite things, and run them over a hundred times. It often happens, continues the same father, that we take a singular pleasure, in shewing friends newly arrived at the city we live in, whatever is beautiful, uncommon or curious ; and the sweetness of friendship diffuses a secret charm over things which would otherwise appear exceeding tiresome ; and gives them, as to ourselves, all the graces of novelty. ^c Why should not charity produce the same effects in us that friendship does, especially when the thing proposed, tends towards making God himself known to men, who ought to be the end of all our knowledge and of all our studies ?

I thought it my duty to enlarge a little upon the manner of framing catechisms, which is not foreign to the end I propose to myself in this article, *viz.* of instructing youth in what relates to the eloquence of the pulpit. It is now time to proceed to the second duty of preachers.

II. DUTY OF A PREACHER.

[*To please, and for that end, to speak in a florid and polite manner.*]

St. Austin recommends to the preacher, to en-

^b Si usitata, & parvulis congruentia saepe repetere fastidimus . . . si ad infirmitatem discipulorum piget descendere . . . cogitemus quid nobis prerogatum sit ab illo . . . qui, cum in forma Dei esset, semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens.

Ibid. cap. 10.

^c Quanto ergo magis delectari nos oportet, cum ipsum Deum jam discere homines accedunt, propter quem discenda sunt, quaecunque discenda sunt ?

Ibid. c. 12.

deavour first, and above all things, to be clear and perspicuous, but he does not pretend he must confine himself to that only. He would not have truth divested of the ornaments of speech, which it alone has a right to employ. ^d He would have human eloquence subservient to the word of God; but not the word of God made the slave of human eloquence. It often happens, that we cannot reach the heart but through the understanding, and that in order to affect the one, we must please the other. ^e It is an extraordinary quality, in his opinion, to love and to search in the words only the things themselves, and not the words; but he owns at the same time, that this quality is very uncommon; that in case truth is represented without ornaments, it will affect very few. ^f That speech, like food, must be palatable in order to make it agreeable; and that in both, we must pay a regard to the delicacy of mankind, and gratify their taste in some measure.

It was for the same reason that the fathers of the Church, would by no means forbid those who were called to the ministry, the perusal of antient authors and profane learning. ^g St. Austin declares, that all the truths found in heathen authors are our own, and consequently, we have a right to claim them as our property, by taking them out of the hands of those unjust possessors, in order to em-

^d Nec doctor verbis serviat, sed verba doctori. *De doctr. christ.* l. 4. n. 61.

^e Bonorum ingeniorum insignis est indoles, in verbis verum amare, non verba Quod tamen si fiat insuaviter, ad paucos quidem studiosissimos suus pervenit fructus. *Ibid.* n. 26.

^f Sed quoniam inter se habent nonnullam similitudinem vescentes atque discentes, propter fastidia plurimorum etiam ipsa, sine quibus vivi non potest, alimenta condienda sunt. *Ibid.*

^g De doctr. christ. l. 2. n. 6.

ploy them to a better use. ^h He would have us leave to heathen writers, their profane words and superstitious fictions, which every good Christian ought to abominate, after the example of the Israelites, who by the command of God himself plundered Ægypt of her gold and most precious garments, without touching their idols; and that we should take from the heathen authors, those truths we find in them, and which are, as it were, the silver, the gold, and ornaments of discourse; and cloath our ideas with them, in order to make the one and the other serviceable to the preaching of the Gospel. ⁱ He cites a great number of fathers who made this use of them, in imitation of Moses himself, who was carefully instructed in all the wisdom of the Ægyptians.

St. Jerom treats the same topic more at large, in a fine letter ^k, where he justifies himself from the reproaches of his adversaries, who imputed it as a crime in him, that he had employed profane learning in his writings. After pointing out several places in the scriptures, where heathen authors are cited, he makes a long enumeration of the ecclesiastical writers, who likewise made use of

^a Sic doctrinæ omnes gentili-
lium, non solum simulata &
superstitiosa figmenta . . . quæ
unusquisque nostrum duce Chri-
sto de societate gentilium exi-
ens debet abominari atque de-
vitare: sed etiam liberales dis-
ciplinas usui veritatis aptiores,
& quædam morum præcepta
utilissima continent . . . quæ
tanquam aurum & argentum
debet ab eis auferre christianus
ad usum justum prædicandi e-
vangeli. Vestem quoque illo-
rum . . . accipere atque habere
licuerit in usum convertenda

christianum. *De doct. chr. l. 2. n. 60.*

ⁱ Nonne aspiciamus quanto
auro & argento & veste suffar-
cinatus exierit de Ægypto Cy-
prius doctor suavissimus, &
martyr beatissimus? *Ibid. n. 61.*
Vir eloquentia pollens & mar-
tyrio. *S. Hieron.*

^k Quæris cur in opusculis
nostris secularium litterarum in-
terdum ponamus exempla, &
candorem Ecclesiæ Ethnicorum
sordibus polluamus. *S. Hieron.*
Epist. ad Magnum.

their

their testimonies, in defence of the Christian religion. Among the holy writers, he had named St. Paul, who quotes several passages from the Greek poets. ¹“ And indeed, says he, he had
“ learnt from the true David the way of forcing
“ the enemy’s weapon out of his own hand, in
“ order to fight him ; and to cut off the head of
“ the proud Goliath’s with his own sword.

It were therefore very much to be wished, that those who are designed for the pulpit should begin by drawing eloquence from its springs, that is, from the Greek and Latin authors, who have been always looked upon as masters in the art of speaking. ^m The sacred orator should have learnt from them the distribution of the several ornaments of discourse, and this not barely to please the auditor, much less to gain a reputation, (motives which even heathen rhetoric thought unworthy its orator.) But in order to make truth more amiable to men, by rendering her more lovely ; and to engage them by this kind of innocent bait, to relish her holy sweetness, and to practise her salutary lessons more assiduously and sincerely.

It is well known that St. Ambrose’s eloquence had this effect on St. Austin, though he was still charmed with the beauties of profane eloquence. ⁿ That great

¹ Didicerat à vero David ex-torquere de manibus hostium gladium, & Golizæ superbissimi caput proprio mucrone trun-care. *Ibid.*

^m Illud, quod agitur genere temperato, id est ut eloquentia ipsa delectet, non est propter seipsum usurpandum, sed ut rebus quæ utiliter honesteque dicuntur . . . aliquanto promptius & delectatione ipsa elocutionis accedat, vel tenacius ad-

hærescat assensus . . . Ita fit ut etiam temperati generis ornatu non jactanter, sed prudenter utamur, non ejus finē contenti, quo tantummodo delectatur auditor : sed hoc potius agentes, ut etiam ipso ad bonum, quod persuadere volumus, adjuvetur. *S. Aug. de doctr. chr. l. 4. n. 55.*

ⁿ Veni ad Ambrosium Episcopum . . . cujus tunc eloquia strenuè ministrabat adipem frumenti

great bishop preached the word of God to his people with so many charms and graces, that all his auditors were transported by a kind of divine enthusiasm. ° St. Austin had, at first, no other view in his preaching, but to adorn it with flowers of speech, and not with the solidity of ideas or things; but it was not in his power to separate them. He thought to have opened his understanding and heart, to the beauties of diction only; but truth entered it at the same time, and soon gained an absolute sovereignty over them.

He himself made the same use of eloquence afterwards. We find the people were so ravished with his sermons, that they bestowed the utmost applauses on them. He was, however, very far either from seeking or affecting those applauses; for his humility was so great, that they really afflicted him, and made him fear the secret and subtil contagion of that poisoned vapour. ° But whence should such frequent acclamations arise, but from this, viz. that truth thus illustrated and placed in her utmost splendor by a truly eloquent man, charms and ravishes?

I cannot here avoid exhorting my readers to peruse M. Arnaud's little treatise, entitled, *Reflections on the Eloquence of Preachers*. He there refutes part of the preface which M. du Bois his friend had prefixed to his translation of St. Au-

frumenti tui . . . & sobriam vini ebrietatem populo tuo. *Confess. l. 5. c. 13.*

° Cum non satagerem discere quæ dicebat, sed tantum quemadmodum dicebat audire . . . veniebant in animum meum simul cum verbis quæ diligebam, res etiam quas negligebam: neque enim ea dirimere poteram. Et dum cor aperi-

rem ad excipiendum quàm disertè diceret, pariter intrabat & quam verè diceret. *Ibid.*

c. 14.

° Unde autem crebrò & multum acclamatur ita dicentibus, nisi quia veritas sic demonstrata, sic defensa, sic invicta, delectat? *De doctr. chr. l. 4. n. 56.*

stin's sermons, in which he pretended to shew, that most preachers followed a manner of preaching contrary to that of St. Austin, by making too much use of human eloquence, which he thought improper for sermons. This preface had dazzled great numbers, and was very much applauded. But they were greatly astonished, when M. Arnaud's little treatise appeared, to find that almost the whole preface was founded upon false principles, and reasonings. It may be of use, and agreeable at the same time, to compare these two treatises, by first reading the preface, in order to see if we can find any fault in it; and then by examining the refutation, to see whether it be just and solid, and supported by sound arguments.

The principle I have laid down from St. Austin's rules, *viz.* that the Christian orator may, and even ought to strive to please the auditor, must be kept within certain limits, requires some illustration. Two defects must be avoided in preaching, the one consists in taking too much pains about the ornaments and graces of discourse, and the other in neglecting them. I will say something of each.

FIRST DEFECT.

Taking too much pains about the Ornaments.

It is very blameable in a Christian orator, to endeavour more at pleasing than instructing his auditors; and to be more solicitous about words than things; to depend too much on his labour and preparation; to enervate the force of the truths he is denouncing, by a childish affectation of bright thoughts; in a word, to adulterate and corrupt God's word, by a vicious mixture of trifling ornaments.

St. Jerom,

¶ St. Jerom, whose taste for eloquence and the graces of discourse are well known, could not suffer the Christian orator, (neglecting to instruct himself and others in the very principles of religion) to employ himself only as a declaimer, to please people; nor that the august eloquence of the pulpit should degenerate into a vain parade of words, fit for nothing more than to gain a little trifling applause. ¶ St. Ambrose was of the same opinion, and would banish absolutely that kind of embroidery from preaching, whose only effect is to make thoughts more languid. *Aufer mihi lenocinia fucumque verborum, quia solent enervare sententias.*

God tells us in Ezekiel, how much he detested the unhappy disposition of the Israelites, ¶ who, instead of improving by the sad predictions of his prophet, and being alarmed by them to their advantage, went to hear him only for diversion sake, as to a concert of music. How much would he have reproached the prophet himself, had he given occasion for so shameful an abuse, through any fault or neglect of his own, by endeavouring merely to tickle the ears of his auditors by a soft harmony and an empty sound of words? This is the just character of sermons, of which nothing remains but the unprofitable remembrance of the pleasure they gave when spoke.

A certain heathen complained, that in his time these light graces of style, which ought to be employed in subjects of a less grave and serious

¶ *Nolo te declamatorem esse & rabulam, garulumque sine ratione.* Hieron. *Epistol. ad Nepot.* ¶ Comment. l. 8.

Verba volvere, & celeritate dicendi apud imperitum vulgus admirationem sui facere, in-doctorum hominum est. S. 32. ¶ Et es eis quasi carmen musicum, quod suavi dulcique sonocanitur: & audiunt verba tua, & non faciunt. *Ezech. xxxiii.*

nature,

nature, had done a kind of violence to good sense and reason; and possessed themselves, as it were, by force, even of the suits or causes in which the lives and fortunes of men were debated. * *In ipsa capitis aut fortunarum pericula irrupit voluptas.*

How much more ought this abuse to be condemned in religious discourses, in which the gravest and at the same time the most awful subjects are handled? In which it is intended, for instance, to humble and intimidate the sinner in order to his salvation, by representing the horrors of death to be nearer him than perhaps he imagines; the cry of the blood of Christ Jesus, which demands vengeance for having been so long profaned; the anger of a justly exasperated God, ready to break out over his head; and Hell open under his feet, in order to swallow him up?

Is a preacher excusable, amidst such great truths as these, to employ himself wholly on an empty pomp of elocution; to go in search of bright thoughts, to make his periods harmonious, and to crowd a set of empty figures one upon the other? What becomes in the mean time of that grief and sadness which ought to pierce his soul whilst he is discoursing on such subjects, and which ought to make his whole discourse one continued groan, as it were? Might we not justly be angry, should the preacher endeavour to display his ge-

* Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

An quisquam tulerit reum in discrimine capitis, decurrentibus periodis, quam lætissimis locis sententiisque dicentem? . . . Quò fugerit interim dolor ille? Ubi lacrymæ subsisterint? Unde se in medium tam securo observatio artium miserit? Non ab exordio usque ad ultimam vocem continuus quidam

gemitus, & idem tristitiæ vultus servabitur? . . . Commoveatur-ne quisquam ejus fortuna, quem tumidum ac sui jactantem, & ambitiosum institorem eloquentiæ in ancipiti sorte videat? Non imò oderit reum verba aucupantem, & anxium de fama ingenii, & cui esse deserto vacet. *Quintil. l. 11.*

c. 1.

nus,

nus, and had leisure to act the fine speaker, at a time when thunder and lightning only should appear, and the most lively and animated touches?

SECOND FAULT.

The being too negligent of the Ornaments of Speech.

Another fault in preaching, much more common than the former, and of infinitely worse consequence, is, the being too careless of the elocution; the not having a sufficient respect for the auditory, the appearing before it without almost any preparation, the speaking extempore whatever occurs, frequently without order, choice or justness; and by this affected negligence, to give the hearers a distaste and contempt for the word of God, which in itself is worthy of engaging the esteem and awe of mankind, and ought to form their softest consolation, their most solid glory.

The aim and design which every worthy preacher proposes in addressing himself to Christians, is to persuade, in order to incline them to virtue, and to give them an abhorrence for vice; but all do not employ the means conducive to that happy end, nor study to speak in a persuasive manner. It is this forms the difference between good and bad preachers. * The latter, says St. Austin, preach in a gross, disagreeable and cold manner, *obtusè; deformiter, frigide*; the former, with ingenuity, beauty and strength, *acute, ornatè, veementè*.

The salvation of most Christians, as well as their faith, depend on the word; but this word must be treated with art and skill, in order that the

* De doctrin. Christ. l. 4. n. 7.

minds of people may be prepared to receive it. The ornament of speech is one of the means conducive to this purpose, and the reason of it is very plain; viz. the auditor must not only hear what is spoke, but hear it willingly: * *volumus non solum intelligenter, verum etiam libenter audiri.* Now how can he hear it willingly, unless he is allured by pleasure? † *Quis tenetur ut audiat, si non delectetur?* . . . ‡ *Quis eum (oratorem) velit audire, nisi auditorem nonnulla etiam suavitate detineat?* But this ornament of speech is not incompatible with simplicity; for this simplicity must not be gross, tedious and distasteful: § *Nolumus fastidire etiam quod submissè dicimus.* There is a medium between a far-fetched, flow'ry, luminous, and a low, groveling, careless style: and it is the medium between these that suits the preacher. ¶ *Illaque quoque eloquentia generis temperati apud eloquentem Ecclesiasticum, nec inornata relinquitur, nec indenter ornatur.*

Christians would know much more than they now do, were they to frequent regularly their parish churches, which they are more indispensibly obliged to do than is generally imagined; and were sermons written and delivered as they ought to be, which is a duty no less incumbent on the preacher. What affliction, what grief must those feel, who have some idea of the importance of this ministry, to see their churches generally empty, or very thin; especially if they are conscious that it is their cold, languid, tiresome, and often long-winded delivery, which prevents their parishioners from coming to hear them? Hereby they are wanting in the most important function of their employ-

* N. 56.

† N. 58.

‡ N. 56.

§ Ibid.

¶ N. 57.

ments : they deceive the expectations of their hearers, who run eagerly in order to supply their necessities, but are obliged to return fasting. They degrade the word of God by their careless delivery, and cause it to be looked upon with contempt and distaste. They dishonour the Divine Majesty, whose ambassadors they are ; and do not consider that should the envoy of an earthly monarch behave in this manner, he would be justly looked upon by his sovereign as a prevaricator.

They are far from observing the conduct of that Greek * orator, who never spoke in public till he had duly prepared himself for it ; and besought the Gods before he came out of his house, not to suffer one word to fall from him unworthy of his auditors : or of that Roman orator, who though so eminent, declares, ^d that he never pleaded any cause, till after he had taken all the pains requisite for that purpose. I dare not translate the words which Quintilian ^e levels against that lawyer, who should be wanting in this duty so essential to his profession, but which is much more to that of a minister of the word of God, on which the salvation of his hearers depends.

I am sensible, that the multitude of affairs, in which such pastors as are careful of their duty must be engaged in, allows them but very little time to prepare their sermons. But we are not here treating of pieces of eloquence, laboured and polished with the utmost care ; which require a long application, and consequently a complete leisure. That preacher, who besides a natural genius, has

^c Legatione fungimur.

* Pericles.

^d Ad illam causarum operam nunquam nisi paratus & meditatus accedo. *Lib. 1. De leg. n. 12.*

^e Afferet ad dicendum curæ

semper quantum plurimum poterit. Neque enim solum negligentis, sed & mali, & in suscepta causa perfidi, ac proditoris est, pejus agere quem possit. *Quint. l. 12. c. 9.*

some learning ; and who joins to these qualities a strong zeal for the salvation of Christians, never fails of success ; and is sure to be applauded, when he lays down his discourse with order, delivers solid and pathetic things, corroborates them by texts of scriptures, and observes not to make his discourse too long. Such a preparation as this, (and it is indispensable) does not take up a vast deal of time.

Is any part of the ministerial function more important, more necessary, more worthy of the pastoral zeal, than the care of the poor, and that of administering the sacraments ? ^f Nevertheless we see, on one side, that the Apostles when assembled to remedy the complaints which the distribution of the alms had occasioned among the faithful ; think themselves obliged to lay aside this so holy duty, rather than to leave off preaching the word of God, for which they were expressly commanded to postpone every thing else ; and, on the other side, when St. Paul, so well instructed in the duty of an Apostle, and so indefatigable in his labours, declares expressly, *that Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel.* Preaching is therefore the chief function of apostles, bishops, and pastors of every denomination ; to which they ought to apply themselves with all the vigour they are capable of, by removing with an inflexible severity, whatever is incompatible with this first and most essential of their duties.

This precept and example have been given us by all those great saints, whose learned and eloquent discourses have done so much honour to the Christian world, though most of them possessed the highest dignities in the church, and were vigilant in defending it against heretics.

^f Aq. vi. 2.

1 Cor. i. 17.

^h St. Gregory Nazianzen, though he despised the disposition of words, and those empty delicacies which only tickle the ear, was yet very far from neglecting such particulars as are of use in eloquence, ⁱ as he observes more than once. * I have reserved, says he, eloquence only; and I do not repent the pains and fatigue I have suffered by sea and land, in order to attain it; I could wish for my own and my friends sakes, that we possessed all the force of it . . . * This alone remains of what I once possess, and I offer, devote and consecrate it to my God. The voice of his command, and the impulse of his spirit, have made me abandon all things beside, to barter all I was master of, for the precious stone of the Gospel. I am therefore thus become, or rather I wish ardently to become that happy merchant, who exchanges contemptible and perishable goods, for others that are excellent and eternal. But being a minister of the Gospel, I devote myself solely to the art of preaching: I embrace it as my lot, and will never leave it. . . ^l In another place, he thanks his flock, in that their incredible ardour for the word of God, was his consolation against the injurious and malicious discourses that his enemies vented against his eloquence, which he, indeed, had acquired by the study of profane authors; but had raised and ennobled it by the perusal of the sacred writings, and by the vivifying wood of the cross, which had taken away all its bitterness. He adds, that he is not of the opinion of many others, who would have people be contented with a dry, simple, unadorned, flat discourse; who cover their laziness or ignorance, by

^h Orat. 15.ⁱ Orat. 3.

* St. Gregory Nazianzen had undertaken several voyages, pur-

posely to study eloquence under the ablest masters.

^k Orat. 12.^l Orat. 27.

a contemptuous disdain of their adversaries; and pretend herein to imitate the Apostles, not considering that miracles and prodigies were to them instead of eloquence.

^m St. Ambrose in the very place where he exhorts preachers to make their discourses pure, simple, clear, weighty and grave, adds, that as they must not be affectedly elegant, so neither must they be devoid of beauties and of graces. And he himself always practised what he inculcated to others.

Was ever pastor more employed, or more conspicuous for good works than St. Austin? ⁿ But then his zeal, equally enlightened and fervent, did not engross any part of the time requisite for the preparing of those things which were necessary for the instruction of the faithful. One would conclude, that at first his sermons were written down, and got by heart, because he then had more leisure, and more occasion to use this precaution. Afterwards, he contented himself with searching for the sense of such passages of scripture as he intended to explain; to display the truths they contained, and to find out texts to support and illustrate them; which research, and his preaching, cost him no little pains, as he himself tells us at the conclusion of his fourth discourse on the 103 Psalm. *Magno labore quæsitæ & inventa sunt, magno labore nuntiata & disputata sunt: sit labor noster fructuosus vobis, & benedicat anima nostra Dominum.* The insatiable ardour with which his auditors used to hear him, is a manifest testimony that he was a very able preacher; was very laborious in preparing, and careful in the delivery of his sermons.

I have purposely reserved St. Chrysostom for

^m Oratio fit pura, simplex, termisâ gratiâ. *Offic. lib. i.*
 dilucida atque manifesta, plena *cap. 22.*
 gravitatis & ponderis: non ⁿ *Epist. lxxiii.*
 affectatâ elegantîâ, sed non in-

326 *Of the Eloquence of the Pulpit.*

the last, because none of the fathers have insisted more on the subject in question than he has done. In his beautiful discourse on the priesthood, which is justly considered as his master-piece; he lays it down as an incontestible principle, that the chief part of the duty of bishops, and consequently of all pastors, consists in the instruction which is delivered from the pulpit: because by that alone, they are enabled to teach Christians the truths of religion, to inspire them with a love for virtue, draw them out of the paths of vice; and support them in the severe trials they must undergo, and the combats they must daily sustain against the enemies of their salvation. Without this succour, a poor church may be compared to a city that is defenceless and attacked on all sides; or to a ship having no pilot aboard it, that is buffeted by storms. The word in the mouth of a pastor, is like a sword in the hand of a warrior; but this sword must be managed with art and dexterity; or to speak more plainly, ^oa pastor must very assiduously prepare his sermons and other discourses he is obliged to deliver in publick; and must use his utmost efforts to acquire this talent, since on it depends the salvation of most of those souls which are committed to his care.

But here it will be objected, if this be true, why then did St. Paul neglect the acquiring this talent; and why did he not scruple to own, that *he was rude in speech*, and that too in writing to the Corinthians, who set so high a value upon eloquence?

This expression, says St. Chrysostom, the sense and depth of which has not been discovered, has

ο Χρὴ τὸν ἱπὲρ πάντα ποιῶν
ὕπερ τῆ ταύτης κτησασθαι τὸν ἰσ-
χυόν.

^p Imperitus sermone. 2 Cor.
xi. 6.

deceived

deceived multitudes, and by them been made use of as a handle to vindicate their own laziness. If St. Paul was ignorant as you say, how came he to confound the Jews at Damascus, having not yet wrought any miracles? How was it possible for him to vanquish the Greeks in argument, and why did he retire to Tarsus? Was it not after he had gained so complete a victory, by the power of the word, that unable to bear the ignominy of their defeat they resolved to put him to death? What weapons did he make use of, to combat and dispute against the citizens of Antioch, who were resolved to embrace the Jewish ceremonies. Did not the senator of the Areopagus, who inhabited the most superstitious, and at the same time the most learned city of the world, and his wife, follow him, after hearing but one of his discourses? How did that Apostle employ his time in Thessalonica, in Corinth, in Ephesus, and even in Rome it self? Did not he spend whole days and nights in explaining the sacred writings? Need we relate his various disputes with the Epicureans and Stoicks? How audacious then must those be, who after this would give the title of ignorant to St. Paul? He, whose disputations and sermons were universally admired; He, whom the Lycaonians imagined to be Mercury, undoubtedly because of his eloquence?

It may happen, that pastors full of zeal, charity, and very capable of presiding over men, may yet not be endued with a talent for preaching, nor able to instruct their flock. In this case, the example of Valerius bishop of Hippo, who because he was not conversant in the Latin tongue, made St. Austin preach for him and in his presence, is a rule for them; and authorizes them to employ others in those functions to which they themselves are unequal. ¶ Such country rectors as are not ca-

¶ *M. P. Abbé Lambert.*

pable of composing sermons, may have recourse to books. There is purposely calculated for them, a set of short, easy homilies, and adapted to the meanest capacities; these they may either read to their congregation, or get others to read them.

St. Austin would not condemn this practice; he being of opinion, that when a pastor is not capable to write a sermon, he may get it done by another; and after learning it by heart, deliver it as tho' he himself were the author. The reason of which is, that some method or other must be used to instruct the people.

III. DUTY OF A PREACHER.

To touch and affect his auditors, by the strength of his discourse.

THO' we ought to set a high value on a discourse, which is not only very conspicuous, but graceful and eloquent; it yet must be owned, that the great, the surprizing effects of eloquence, are not produced either from that of a simple and mediate, or of an embellished and flow'ry kind, but from the sublime and pathetic. By the two former, the orator pleases and instructs; and he may be satisfied with producing these two effects, when he speaks only of speculative truths which require only our belief, and consent; and which are relative to the genius, rather than to the heart and the affections, if however there are any such in religion. But 'tis not so when practical truths are proposed, which are to be put in execution. And

* Sunt quidam, qui bene pronuntiare possunt, quid autem pronuntient excogitare non possunt. Quod si ab aliis sumant eloquenter sapienterque con-

scriptum, memoriae commendent, atque ad populum proferant: si eam personam gerunt, non improbe faciunt. *De Doctr. Christ. lib. iv. n. 62.*

indeed,

indeed, to what purpose would it be, should the auditor be convinced of what he hears, and applaud the eloquence of the speaker, if he did not love, embrace and practise the maxims which are preached to him? In case the orator does not arrive at this third degree, he goes but half way; for he ought to please and instruct, only in the view of affecting. 'Tis in this that St. Austin, after Tully, makes the complete victory of eloquence to consist. Every discourse that leaves the auditor calm; does not move and agitate him, and also deject, overthrow, and vanquish his obstinate resistance; how beautiful soever such a piece may appear, it is not truly eloquent. The business is, to inspire him with horror for his sins, and with a dread of God's judgments; to remove the seducing charm which blinds him, and to force open his eyes; to make him hate what he loved, and love what he hated; to tear up from his heart his strong, ardent and burning passions, of which he is no longer master, and which have gained an absolute ascendant over him; in a word, to raise him above, and force him away from himself; from his desires, his joys, and from every thing that constitutes his felicity.

I am sensible that nothing but the all-powerful grace of Christ Jesus can affect a heart in this manner, and create such wonderful changes in it. To think otherwise, and to expect in some measure this from the efficacy of the word, the graces of speech, the fidelity of arguments, or the strength of expressions, would be, to speak with St. Paul, to 'annihilate the cross of Christ, and divest him of the honour of converting the world, by ascribing it all to human wisdom. ' For this reason St. Austin

' Misit me Christus evangelizare, non in sapientia verbi, ut non evacuetur crux Christi.

1 Cor. i. 17.

' Noster iste eloquens... hæc se posse, pietate magis orationum,

Austin would have the Christian orator rely much more on prayer than on his abilities ; and before he speaks to them, would have him address the Creator, who only can inspire him with what he ought to speak, and the manner in which 'tis to be spoken. * But as we employ these natural remedies which physick prescribes, tho' we are sensible that all their effect is owing to God, who is pleased to make them subservient to our recovery, but without subjecting his power to theirs ; in like manner, the Christian orator may, and ought to employ all the methods, all the assistance which rhetoric can furnish, but without putting his confidence in it ; and in a full persuasion, that 'twill be to no purpose for him to speak to the ears, if God does not speak to the hearts.

Now 'tis the sublime and pathetic style ; great and lively images ; strong and vehement passions, which bear away our assent and captivate the heart. * Instruction and arguments have enlightned and convinced the mind ; the graces of speech have won it, and by their seducing charm, have prepared the way

num, quàm oratorum facultate, non dubitet, ut orando pro se, ac pro illis quos est allocuturus, sit orator, antequam dictor... Et quis facit ut quod oportet, quemadmodum oportet, dicatur à nobis, nisi IN CUJUS MANU SUNT ET NOS ET SERMONES NOSTRI?...

* Sicut enim corporis medicamenta, quæ hominibus ab hominibus adhibentur, non nisi eis profunt, quibus Deus operatur salutem, qui & sine illis mederi potest, cum sine ipso illa non possint, & tamen adhibentur... ita & adjumenta doctrinæ tunc profunt animæ adhibita

per hominem, cum Deus operatur ut profint, qui potuit evangelium dare homini etiam non ab hominibus, neque per hominem. *St. Aug. de Doctr. Cbr. l. iv. c. 15, & 16.*

* Oportet igitur eloquentem ecclesiasticum, quando suadet aliquid quod agendum est, non solum docere ut instruat, & delectare ut teneat, verum etiam flectere ut vincat. Ipse quippe jam remanet ad confessionem flectendus eloquentiæ granditate, in quo id non egit usque ad ejus confessionem demonstrata veritas adjuncta etiam suavitatis dictionis. *Ibid. c. 13.*

to the heart. The next thing is, to enter, and take possession of it, but this is what noble, strong eloquence only can effect. The reader may turn back to what was said on this subject in the article of the sublime. I shall now give some extracts from the fathers, since these will instruct more than any reflexions I could make on this subject.

EXTRACT from St. AUSTIN.

* THIS ILLUSTRIOUS SAINT employed the precepts of this triumphant eloquence on an important occasion, which he himself has related. 'Twas at Hippo, when he was but a private priest, and at the time that Valerius the bishop made him preach in his stead. The festival of St. Leontius bishop of Hippo being nigh, the people murmur'd at their being denied to celebrate it with the usual rejoicings, that is, to assemble in the churches at feasts which degenerated to drunkenness and debauchery. St. Austin knowing that the people murmur'd, began on wednesday, the eve of the Ascension, to preach to them on that subject, upon occasion of the Gospel of the day in which these words were read: *Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine.*

As there were but few auditors at this discourse, and that a great many among these were gain-fayers, he spoke again on the same subject on the morrow, being Ascension day, to a more numerous assembly, in which the Gospel of the buyers and sellers who were drove out of the temple was read. He himself read it over again, and shew'd, how much more solicitous Christ would have been, to banish dissolute feasts from the temple, than a traffick innocent in it self. He also read se-

* S. August. Epist. xxix. ad *Alypium*.
† Matth. vii. 6.

veral other passages of scripture against drunkenness. He heightened his discourse with groans, and the most lively marks of the deep grief, into which his love for his brethren had plunged him: and after interrupting it by some prayers which he caused to be repeated, he again began to speak with the utmost vehemence; setting before their eyes the general danger to which the common people were exposed, as well as the priests, who are to render an account of their souls to the great Pastor. “ I conjure you, says he, by his humiliations, his sufferings, his crown of thorns, his cross and his blood, at least have pity on us, and consider the love and charity of the venerable Valerius, who out of tenderness for you, entrusted me with the formidable ministry, to declare the word of God unto you. He has often told you, how overjoyed he was at my coming hither: but his view in this was, that I might be the minister of your salvation, and not of your damnation.” St. Austin added, that he hoped this would never come to pass; and that in case they would not submit to the authority of the Divine Word he had preached to them, they would yield to the chastisements, which he did not doubt God would inflict upon them in this world, to prevent their being damned in the other. He spoke these in so affecting a manner, that he drew tears from his congregation, and could not stop his own. “ ’Twas not, says he, my weeping over them that drew tears from their eyes; but whilst I was speaking, their tears prevented mine. I must confess that I was then melted. After we had wept together, I began to have strong hopes of their amendment.”

⁊ The morrow which was the feast-day, he was informed that some murmured, and cry’d,

⁊ Cum illuxisset dies cui solebant fauces ventresque se parare.

What’s

“ What’s

“What’s doing now? Were not those who permitted this custom hitherto, Christians?”
 * St. Austin not knowing how to stagger them, was very much puzzled. He had resolved to read to these obstinate people that passage in ^b Ezekiel, where ’tis said, that the centinel is discharged when he has given warning of the danger; and afterwards to shake his garments over the people and to return home. However, God spared him this affliction, and the murmurers were no longer able to resist so lively and eloquent a charity.

There is no doubt, but that the solidity and beauty of the discourse, was of service in preparing the way, and affecting the minds of his hearers; but a circumstance which overthrew those murmurers, and gained St. Austin a complete victory, was his blending the sublime and pathetic, with that softness and tenderness we have mentioned elsewhere.
 * The two others may procure acclamations; but the sublime, and pathetic bear down, as it were, every thing with their weight; and instead of applauses force tears from the hearers.

EXTRACT *from St. Cyprian.*

THE extract I here give is borrowed from the beautiful epistle of this illustrious bishop to Pope Cornelius, upon occasion of those persons, who having fallen during the persecution, demanded haughtily to be restored to the sacraments, tho’ they had not done the penance required on those occasions, and yet had the boldness to employ menaces.

* Quo audito, quas majores commovendi eos machinas præpararem, omnino nesciebam.

^b *Ezech.* xxxiii. 9.

* Non sanè, si dicenti crebriùs & vehementiùs acclametur, ideo granditer putandus est

dicere: hoc enim & acumina submissi generis, & ornamenta faciunt temperati. Grande autem genus plerumque pondere suo voces premit, sed lachrymas exprimit. *Sanct. August. de Doctr. Christ.* l. iv. c. 24.

“ If

334 *Of the Eloquence of the Pulpit.*

“ If those sinners, says St. Cyprian, will be re-
 “ ceived into the church, let us see what idea
 “ they have of the satisfaction they ought to make ;
 “ and what fruits of repentance they bring. The
 “ church here is not shut against any person: The
 “ bishop does not reject any one. We are ready
 “ to receive with patience, indulgence and mild-
 “ ness, all those who present themselves before us.
 “ 'Tis my desire that all return into the church ;
 “ 'Tis my desire that all who fought with us,
 “ should rally under the standards of Christ Jesus ;
 “ and return to his heavenly camp, and into the
 “ house of God his father. I remit as much as I
 “ possibly can ; I wink at a great many things,
 “ from the ardent desire I have to unite again our
 “ brethren to us. I don't even examine with all
 “ the severity, which piety and the Christian re-
 “ ligion require, such offences as are committed
 “ against God ; and I commit sin perhaps my
 “ self, in too easily remitting the sins of others.
 “ I embrace, with the ardour and the tenderness
 “ of an entire charity, those who return with sen-
 “ timents of penitence, those who confess their
 “ sins, and atone for them with humility, and a
 “ simplicity of heart. But if some think to force
 “ their way into the church by threats, and not by
 “ prayers ; and intend to force open the doors of
 “ it by terror, and not to gain admittance by atone-
 “ ment and tears ; they are to know, that the
 “ church is for ever shut against such persons ;
 “ and that the invincible camp of Christ Jesus,
 “ fortified by the almighty power of God, who
 “ is the protector of it, is not to be forced by
 “ human insolence. The priest of the Lord who
 “ follows the precepts of the Gospel may be killed,
 “ but he cannot be overcome. *Sacerdos Dei evan-*
 “ *gelium tenens, & Christi præcepta custodiens, oc-*
 “ *cidi potest, non potest vinci.*

In

In my opinion this extract, which displays both the paternal mildness of a holy bishop, and the invincible courage of a martyr, may be proposed as a perfect model of the strongest and most sublime eloquence, and equal in every respect to that of Demosthenes.

EXTRACTS

From St. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM against Oaths.

SAINTE Chrysostom, in his homilies to the inhabitants of Antioch, often exclaims against those, who for temporal interest, obliged their brethren to swear on the altar, and by that means often occasioned their taking of false oaths. “^d What are you doing, wicked wretch, says he? You require an oath on the holy table; and you sacrifice cruelly your brother on the same altar where Jesus Christ, who sacrificed himself for you, lies? Thieves assassinate, but then they do it in secret; but you, in presence of the church, our common parent, murder one of her children, in which you are more wicked than Cain; for he concealed his guilt in the desert, and only deprived his brother of a transitory life; but you plunge your neighbour into everlasting death, and that in the midst of the temple, and before the face of the Creator! Was then the Lord’s house built for swearing, and not for prayer? Is the sacred altar to occasion the committing of crimes, instead of expiating them? But if every other religious sensation is

^d Homil. xv. ad pop. Antioch.

“ extinguished

“ extinguished in you, venerate, at least, the ho-
 “ ly book which you present your brother with to
 “ swear upon. Open the holy Gospel, on which
 “ you are going to make him swear, and upon
 “ hearing what Christ Jesus says of swearing,
 “ tremble and withdraw. And what does Christ
 “ say there? *It has been said by them of old time,*
 “ *thou shalt not forswear thyself . . . But I say un-*
 “ *to you, swear not at all.* How! you make peo-
 “ ple swear on that very book which forbids the
 “ taking of oaths? Impious procedure! Horrid
 “ sacrilege! This is as though the legislator who
 “ condemns murder, should be taken as an ac-
 “ complice in the like guilt.

“ I shed fewer tears when I hear that a person
 “ has been murdered in the highway, than when
 “ I see a man go up to the altar, lay his hand on
 “ the holy book of the Gospels, and take his
 “ oath aloud. On this occasion, it is impossible for
 “ me to keep from changing colour, from trem-
 “ bling, and shivering, both for him who admini-
 “ sters, and for him who takes the oath. Miserable
 “ wretch! to secure to thyself a doubtful sum of
 “ money, thou lovest thy soul! Can the benefit,
 “ thou reapest, be put in parallel with thine and
 “ thy brother's loss? If thou knowest, that he
 “ from whom thou exactest an oath is a good
 “ man, why then art thou not contented with his
 “ bare asseveration? But if he is not, why dost
 “ thou force him to forswear himself?

“ But here you will answer, that without this,
 “ your proof would have been imperfect, and
 “ you would not have been believed. What is
 “ that to the purpose? It is in fearing to require the
 “ oath, that you will appear worthy of belief,
 “ and be easy in your mind. For, in fine, when

“ you are got home, does not your conscience
“ reproach you? Don’t you say to yourself, was
“ I in the right to exact an oath from him? Is
“ he not forsworn? Am not I the cause of his
“ committing so dreadful a crime? On the other
“ side, what a consolation must it be, when being
“ returned home you can say to yourself, Blessed
“ be God, I put a restraint upon myself; I have
“ prevented my brother from committing a crime,
“ and possibly from taking a false oath? May all
“ the gold, all the riches in the universe perish,
“ rather than that I infringe the law, or force others
“ to violate it.

† In the foregoing homily, St. Chrysostom, after having told his auditors how St. John Baptist had been put to death, because of the oath Herod had made; exhorts them to preserve the remembrance of so tragical an event, and to take warning by so dreadful an example; on which occasion he employs the most lively and sublime figures.
“ I bid each of you yesterday bring into this house,
“ the still-bloody head of St. John Baptist, and to
“ image to yourselves his eyes animated with a
“ holy zeal against oaths, and his voice, which still
“ raising itself against that criminal custom, seems
“ to speak thus to you: Fly and detest swearing,
“ for this cost me my life, and gives rise to the
“ greatest crimes. And indeed, continues St.
“ Chrysostom, what neither the generous liberty
“ of the holy Forerunner, (the Baptist) nor the
“ violent anger of the King, who saw himself
“ publicly reprov’d, could effect, was yet
“ brought to pass by the ill-grounded fear of per-
“ jury; and St. John’s death was the effect and
“ consequence of the oath. I again repeat the
“ same thing to you: Represent to yourselves per-

† Homil. xiv.

“ petually that holy head, which is for ever re-
 “ proaching blasphemers; and this reflection alone
 “ will be as a salutary bridle to your tongue, and
 “ keep it from venting blasphemies.

EXTRACT of *St. Chrysostom's discourse*
on Eutropius's disgrace.

EUTROPIUS was favourite to the Emperor Arcadius, and had an absolute ascendant over his master. This monarch, who discovered as much weakness when his ministers stood in need of his protection, as imprudence in raising them, was forced in spite of himself, to abandon his favourite. Eutropius thereupon fell from the highest pitch of grandeur into an abyss of misery. The only friend he then found, was St. John Chrysostom, whom he often had treated injuriously, and who yet had the pious generosity to receive him in the sacred asylum of the altars, which he had endeavoured to abolish by various laws he had enacted against them, and to which he nevertheless fled in his calamity. The next day, on which the holy mysteries were to be celebrated, the people ran in crowds to the church, there to behold in Eutropius a shining image of human weakness, and of the vanity of worldly grandeur. The holy bishop treated this subject in so lively and moving a manner, that he changed the hatred and aversion which the people had for Eutropius, into compassion, and drew tears from the whole congregation. We are to observe, that it was usual with St. Chrysostom to address the great and the powerful, even in the height of their prosperity, with a strength and liberty truly episcopal.

“ : If ever there was reason to cry, *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity*, it is certainly on this oc-

“ Eccles. i. 2.

“ cation.

“ cation. Where is now that splendor of the most
 “ exalted dignities? Where are those marks of
 “ honour and distinction? What is become of that
 “ pomp of feasting and rejoycings? What is the
 “ issue of those frequent acclamations and extra-
 “ vagantly flattering encomiums, lavished by a
 “ whole people assembled in the Circus to assist at
 “ the spectacle? A single blast of wind has stript
 “ that proud tree of all its leaves, and after sha-
 “ king its very roots, has forced it in an instant
 “ out of the earth? Where are those false friends,
 “ those vile flatterers, those parasites so assiduotts
 “ in making their court, and in discovering a ser-
 “ vile attachment by their words and actions?
 “ All this is gone and fled away, like a dream,
 “ like a flower, like a shadow. We therefore
 “ cannot too often repeat these words of the holy
 “ Spirit, *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity*. They
 “ ought to be written in the most shining letters,
 “ in all places of public resort, on the doors of
 “ houses, and in all our apartments; but much
 “ more ought they to be engraved in our hearts,
 “ and be the perpetual subject of our medi-
 “ tation.

“ Had I not just reason, says St. Chrysostom,
 “ addressing himself to Eutropius, to set before
 “ you the inconstancy of riches? You now have
 “ found by your own experience, that like fugi-
 “ tive slaves they have abandoned you; and are
 “ become, in some measure, traitors and mur-
 “ derers with regard to you, since they are the
 “ principal cause of your fall. I often repeated to
 “ you, that you ought to have a greater regard to
 “ my reproaches, how grating soever they might
 “ appear, than to the insipid praises which flatter-
 “ ers were perpetually lavishing on you, because,
 “ *Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the*

Prov. xxvii. 6.

340 *Of the Eloquence of the Pulpit.*

“ *kisses of an enemy are deceitful.* Had I not
 “ just reason to address you in that manner? What
 “ is become of the croud of courtiers? They have
 “ turned their backs; they have renounced your
 “ friendship; and they are studious only of their
 “ own interest and security, even at the expence
 “ of yours. We submitted to your violence in
 “ the meridian of your fortune, and now you
 “ are fallen, we support you to the utmost of our
 “ power. The church against which you have
 “ warred, opens its bosom to receive you, and
 “ the play-houses, the eternal object of your favour,
 “ which had so often drawn down your indigna-
 “ tion upon us, have abandoned and betrayed you.

“ I do not speak this in the way of insulting
 “ the misfortunes of him who is fallen, nor to
 “ open and fret wounds that are still bleeding;
 “ but in order to support those who are standing,
 “ and teach them to avoid such like evils. And
 “ the only way to avoid these, is, to be fully
 “ persuaded of the frailty and vanity of worldly
 “ grandeurs. To call them a flower, a blade of
 “ grass, a smock, a dream, is not saying enough,
 “ since they are even below nothing. Of this we
 “ have a very sensible proof before our eyes.
 “ What man ever ascended higher? Was he not
 “ immensely rich? Did he not possess every dig-
 “ nity? Did not the whole empire stand in fear
 “ of him? And now, more deserted, and trembling
 “ still more, than the meanest, unhappy wretch,
 “ than the vilest slave, than the prisoners confined
 “ in a dark dungeon; having perpetually before
 “ his eyes, swords drawn upon himself; torments
 “ and executioners; deprived of day-light at noon-
 “ day, he every instant expects to die, and never
 “ loses sight of death.

“ You were witnesses yesterday, when people
 “ came from the palace in order to drag him hence,
 “ how

“ how he ran to the sacred vases, shivering in
“ every limb ; pale and dejected, scarce uttering
“ a word but what was interrupted by sobs and
“ groans, and rather dead than alive. I again
“ repeat, I do not declaim in this manner in
“ order to insult his fall, but to move and affect
“ you by the description of his calamities, and in-
“ spire you with tenderness and compassion for one
“ so wretched.

“ But some hard-hearted, merciless creatures,
“ who are even offended at us because we suf-
“ fered him to take sanctuary in the church, say,
“ was not that very man its most inveterate enemy,
“ and made laws for shutting up that sacred asy-
“ lum ? It is so indeed, answers St. Chrysostom ;
“ but we ought to glorify God the more, in thus
“ obliging so formidable an enemy of it, to come
“ and pay homage, both to the power of the
“ church and to its clemency. To its power, since
“ his persecution of it, caused his fall ; to its cle-
“ mency, since notwithstanding all his injurious
“ treatment, forgetting what is past, he is shrouded
“ by its wings, is covered by its protection as
“ though it were a shield, and is received into
“ the holy sanctuary of those altars, which he
“ himself had often attempted to destroy. No
“ victories or trophies could reflect so much ho-
“ nour on the church. Such a generous action as
“ this, which the church only is capable of be-
“ stowing, covers the Jews and Infidels with shame.
“ To indulge protection publicly to a sworn
“ enemy, fallen into disgrace, abandoned and
“ universally become the object of contempt and
“ hatred ; to discover a more than maternal ten-
“ derness for him ; to oppose at one and the same
“ time the anger of the Emperor and the blind
“ fury of the people ; it is this forms the glory of
“ our holy religion.

“ You declare with indignation, that he made
 “ laws for shutting up this sacred asylum. But,
 “ O man ! whomsoever thou art, are thou then
 “ allowed to remember the injuries that have been
 “ done thee ? Are we not the servants of a cruci-
 “ fied God, who said, as he was breathing his
 “ last, *‘ Father, forgive them, for they know not
 “ what they do.* And that man, now prostrate
 “ before the altar, and exposed to the sight of
 “ the whole world, does not he appear in person to
 “ annul his own laws, and acknowledge that they
 “ were unjust ? What a glory does this reflect on
 “ this altar, and how awful, how dreadful is it
 “ become, since it keeps that lion in chains before
 “ our eyes ? Thus, what raises the splendor of a
 “ monarch, is not his being cloathed in purple and
 “ sitting on his throne, but his treading under foot
 “ vanquished and captive barbarians

“ I see that our temple is as much crouded as
 “ at the solemn feast of Easter. What a lesson
 “ does the sight you now behold, afford ; and
 “ how much more eloquent is the silence of this
 “ man, reduced to so miserable an estate, than
 “ all our discourses ? The rich man needs but
 “ enter in here, to see the following words of
 “ scripture verified : *‘ All flesh is grass, and all
 “ the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the
 “ field. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth,
 “ because the Spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it.*
 “ And the poor man is taught on this occasion to
 “ form a quite different judgment of his condi-
 “ tion, than he generally does ; to be even pleased
 “ with his poverty, which is to him a sanctuary,
 “ a haven, a citadel ; by indulging him security,
 “ and ridding him of those fears and alarms which
 “ he sees are caused by riches,

ⁱ Luke xxiii. 34.

^k Isaiah xl. 6, 7.

St. Chrysostom's design in this discourse, was not only to instruct his hearers, but to move them to compassion, by the lively description he gave of Eutropius's misfortunes. And indeed he had the consolation, as was before observed, to draw tears from the whole congregation, notwithstanding their great aversion to Eutropius, who was justly considered as the author of all the calamities both public and private. When St. Chrysostom perceived this, he proceeded in this manner. "Have I calmed your resentments? Have I softened your anger? Have I extinguished inhumanity in your minds? Have I raised your compassion? Yes, I certainly must have effected all this; for the frame of mind I now behold you in, and the tears which trickle down your cheeks, are a certain proof of it. Since then your hearts are melted, and that an ardent love and charity have softened their obduracy and melted the ice of them; let us go together and throw ourselves at the Emperor's feet; or rather, let us beseech the God of mercy to soften his heart, and incline him to pardon Eutropius.

This discourse had a wished for effect, and St. Chrysostom saved the life of that unhappy man. But some days after, Eutropius having been so imprudent as to leave the Church in order to make his escape, he was taken and banished to Cyprus, where he was afterwards seized and carried to Chalcedon, and there beheaded.

EXTRACT *from the first Book of the Priesthood.*

SAINTE Chrysostom had an intimate friend, Basilus by name, who had persuaded our saint to leave his mother's house, and lead a re-

cluse and solitary life with him. As soon as my
 afflicted mother, says St. Chrysostom, heard of
 this, she took me by the hand, carried me in-
 to her chamber, and setting me down by her on
 the bed where she was delivered of me, she be-
 gan to weep, and spake to me in such tender
 words, as affected me much stronger than her
 tears. "Son, says she, God would not suffer me
 " to enjoy long your father's virtue. By his
 " death, which happened soon after the pangs I
 " had suffered in bringing you into the world,
 " you became an orphan; and I a widow, sooner
 " than was for either of our advantages. I have
 " suffered all the troubles and afflictions of widow-
 " hood, which cannot be conceived by any but
 " those who have gone through them. No words
 " can express the storms to which a young wo-
 " man is exposed, who is but just come from
 " her father's house; is wholly unacquainted with
 " affairs; and who being overwhelmed with grief,
 " is obliged to devote herself to new cares, too
 " weighty for her age and sex. She must make
 " up for the negligence of her servants, and guard
 " against their malice; must defend herself from
 " the evil designs of her neighbours; must suf-
 " fer perpetually the injurious treatment of the
 " farmers of the revenues, and the insolence and
 " barbarity they exercise in levying the taxes.

" When a father leaves children behind him,
 " if it be a daughter, I am sensible the care of
 " her must be very laborious to the widow her
 " mother; however, this care is supportable,
 " since it is not attended either with fear or ex-
 " pence. But if it be a son, it will be much more
 " difficult to get him well educated; this fills
 " her with perpetual apprehensions, not to men-
 " tion how expensive it is to get him well edu-
 " cated. However, these several evils could never
 " prevail

“ prevail upon me to marry. I have continued
“ fix’d and immoveable, amidst these storms and
“ tempests ; and trusting above all in the grace of
“ God, I determined to suffer all those troubles
“ which are inseparable from widowhood.

“ But my only consolation in these afflictions
“ was, to behold you incessantly, and to contem-
“ plate in your face, the living, the faithful image
“ of my deceased husband : a consolation which
“ I received in your infancy, and when you was yet
“ incapable of speaking, at which season parents
“ find the greatest pleasure in their children.

“ I have not given you reason to object, that I in-
“ deed supported my present condition with courage,
“ but that I lessened your father’s possessions, to ex-
“ tricate my self from those difficulties ; a mis-
“ fortune that often befalls minors. For I have
“ preserved for you all he left you, tho’ I did
“ not spare any expence for your education, this I
“ paid my self. I don’t say this my son, by way
“ of reproaching you with the obligations you owe
“ me. The only favour I ask in return, is,
“ that you would not reduce me to widowhood a
“ second time. Don’t open a wound that was
“ beginning to heal ; at least stay till I am dead,
“ and perhaps I may be so very soon. Those
“ who are young may hope to grow old ; but at
“ my age I am to expect nothing but death. Af-
“ ter you have buried me in the same grave with
“ your father, and joined my bones to his ashes,
“ then undertake such long journies, and sail on
“ whatever sea you please, for no one will hinder
“ you: but so long as I have any breath left, bear
“ with my presence, and don’t be tired of living
“ with me. Don’t draw down upon your self the
“ wrath of heaven, as you will do, should you
“ so sensibly afflict a mother who deserves the best
“ from you. In case I should offer to engage you
“ in

“ in worldly affairs, and oblige you to undertake
 “ the management of my affairs which are your
 “ own ; I then will allow you to have no regard
 “ or consideration for the laws of nature ; the
 “ pains I have taken in bringing you up ; the re-
 “ spect which is due to a mother, or any such
 “ motive ; but shun me as the enemy of your re-
 “ pose, and as one who is laying snares to ruin
 “ you : But in case I do all that lies in my power,
 “ to make your life easy and happy, let this con-
 “ sideration at least prevail upon you, if all others
 “ should fail. How many friends soever you may
 “ have, none of them will allow you so much li-
 “ berty as I do ; and indeed, no one so passionate-
 “ ly wishes your advancement and your felicity.”

St. Chrysostom was unable to resist these tender
 expressions, and tho' his friend Basilus continued
 his solicitations, he yet could not be prevailed up-
 on to leave a mother so very indulgent, and so
 highly worthy of his love,

Do we meet with any thing among heathen au-
 thors, more beautiful, more lively, more tender or
 more eloquent, than the discourse before us, but of
 that simple and natural eloquence which infinite-
 ly excels the most glaring touches of art ? Is
 there one far fetch'd thought in it, or any uncom-
 mon or affected turn ? Is not the whole dictated
 by nature it self ? But the circumstance I admire the
 most in it, is, the inexpressible reservedness of a
 deeply afflicted mother, who tho' overwhelmed
 with grief, does not yet vent one passionate ex-
 pression, or complain of him who was the cause
 of her violent uneasiness, I mean Basilus. But
 undoubtedly his virtue checked her resentments
 on this occasion, or her fear that such words would
 exasperate her son, whom she desired to work
 upon by soft and gentle methods.

PART the SECOND.

The learning requisite in a Christian Orator.

WHAT I have hitherto delivered, relates only to the style and method proper for the Christian orator, and which St. Austin calls *eloquenter dicere*. I must therefore now treat that which forms the knowledge indispensable in a preacher, which the abovementioned Saint calls, *sapienter dicere*.

Without this learning, ¹ a preacher, how eloquent soever he might appear, would be but a mere disclaimer; and so much the more dangerous to his hearers, the more agreeable he would be to them, and by dazzling them with this false splendor, would accustom them to mistake an empty sound of words for truth, which is the only solid food of the mind. 'Tis well known, says St. Austin, how greatly the heathens themselves, who were not enlightened by Divine Wisdom, but guided only by reason and good sense, despised this false species of eloquence; what are we therefore to think of it, we who are the children, and the ministers of the Wisdom just now mentioned?

'Tis but too usual with many who prepare for preaching, to be more studious about embellishing their discourses, than of filling them with solid truths. Nevertheless 'tis a maxim in rhetoric, established by all who have written on this art, that the only way to speak well, is to think well or justly; and to be able to do the latter, a person must be well

¹ Qui affluit insipienti eloquentia, tanto magis cavendus est, quanto magis ab eo in iis quæ audire inutile est, delectatur auditor, & eum, quoniam disertè dicere audit, etiam verè dicere existimat. *S. Aug. lib. iv. de Doctr. Christi. cap. 5.*

instructed,

348 *Of the Eloquence of the Pulpit.*

instructed, be master of his subject; and his mind must be adorned with a variety of knowledge.

ᵐ Scribendi rectè, sapere est & principium & fons.

'Twas in philosophy, and especially in that of Plato, the antients imagined that fund of knowledge might be drawn, which only can form the good orator.

Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ.

This made Cicero so carefully enjoin this study; and he confesses, as was observed elsewhere, that if he has made any advances in eloquence, he owes it more to philosophy than to rhetoric.

But Christian orators have infinitely more pure and more abundant springs, whence they ought to draw this fund of knowledge. These springs are the scripture and the fathers. What riches are found in these? And how culpable would that person be, who should neglect so precious a treasure? That man who is very conversant in them, will easily be master of elocution. The just thoughts and great truths with which his mind will be stor'd, will naturally suggest proper expressions; and such an orator as this can never want words:

Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.

Of the Study of the Scriptures.

A preacher ought to make the sacred Writings his chief study: and St. Austin lays it down as an indisputable principle, that the Christian orator will be more or less able to deliver himself with

ᵐ Horat. de art. poet.

ⁿ Fateor me oratorem, si modo sim, aut etiam quicumque

sim, non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiæ spatiis extitisse. Orat. n. 12.

justness

justness and solidity, according to his knowledge of the scriptures: ° *Sapienter dicit homo tanto magis vel minus, quanto in scripturis sanctis magis minusve profecit.*

All the religion, and all the knowledge of man for this life and for that to come, consists in knowing the only true God and Christ whom he has sent: p *Hæc est vita æterna, ut cognoscant te solum Deum verum, & quem misisti Jesum Christum.* What can be wanting in that man who possesses this double knowledge? And where can it be taken but from the sacred writings? q *Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor? O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God? Who can boast, r that he has all the riches of the full assurance of understanding to the acknowledgment of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ? Those only, s to whom God will make known what is the riches of the glory of this double mystery; that is the evangelists and apostles, who can say, t We have received. . . the spirit of God; we know the mind of Christ.* 'Tis known that this gift was indulged to St. Paul in an eminent degree, who declared, u *I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified; all other things, w he counted but losses, in comparison of the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus.* x He declares in more places than one, that his vocation is, to declare and discover to all men, the incomprehensible riches of the mystery of Christ Jesus, which he had been particularly indulged; and to illustrate them, by ex-

° De doctr. Christ. l. iv. c. 5.

p Joan. xvii. 3.

q Rom. xi. 34, & 35.

r Coloss. ii. 2.

s Coloss. i. 27.

t 1 Cor. ii. 12, & 16.

u 1 Cor. ii. 2.

w Philip. iii. 8.

x Coloss. iv. 3, & 4.

plaining to them the wonderful œconomy of this hidden mystery before all ages in God.

What is a preacher of the Gospel properly, but an Embassador sent by the Creator to men, to declare his designs to them; to lay before them the conditions of the covenant he will make with them; and of the peace he will condescend to grant them, agreeable to that majestic expression of St. Paul, *⁊ We are Embassadors for Christ?* Now, from whom should an Embassador receive his instructions, or the words he is commanded to deliver to those he is to treat with, but from the master who sent him? 'Twas this made St. Paul exhort the Ephesians to offer up prayers continually for him; in order, says he, *² that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the Gospel, . . . that therein I may speak boldly.* And the same Apostle declares in another place, *that all things are of God, who hath reconciled us unto himself by Jesus Christ, ⁊ and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation.*

When can preachers say truly to their hearers, *⁂ Now then we are Embassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us. . . .* *⁂ We speak before God in Christ, or rather, ⁂ 'tis Jesus Christ speaks in us,* except but when the truths they declare, and the proofs by which they support them, are drawn from the sacred Writings; and are warranted from God's word? These are likewise infinitely fruitful, whether we set about instructing tenets, or explaining mysteries, or are for unfolding the principles of morality, or for censuring vices: *⁂ All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for*

⁊ 2 Cor. v. 20.

² Ephes. vi. 19, 20.

² 2 Cor. v. 15.

⁂ 2 Cor. v. 20.

⁂ Ibid. xii. 19.

⁂ Ibid. xiii. 3.

⁂ 2 Tim. iii. 16.

doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction and righteousness.

It must be confessed, that the truths which are declared to Christians, are much stronger, and make a much greater impression, when they are thus invested with the divine authority; because every man, at the same time that he has an idea of the Deity, has naturally a veneration for Him. Besides, these truths take much deeper root in the mind, when they are joined to some passages of scripture, the sense and energy of which have been shewn. The hearer may have, before him, the text which is illustrated, which makes him much more attentive; at least he has it at home, and by reading it he easily recalls whatever was said to explain it. But a bare citation, often very short, and of which the auditor has seldom notice, passes away with great rapidity, leaves no trace behind it, and is lost and confounded in the rest of the discourse. We cannot expect much fruit from instructions, when they are founded merely on human reasons.

“ One might follow, says the archbishop of Cambray in his Dialogues on Eloquence, where he lays down excellent rules for preaching; “ one
“ might follow many preachers twenty years, and
“ not be instructed in religion in the manner
“ we ought. I have often observed, says he
“ elsewhere, that there is no art or science but
“ is taught from principles, and methodically;
“ religion only is not taught after that method.
“ A little, dry catechism, which they do not
“ understand, is given them in their infant
“ years to learn by heart; after which, they have
“ no other instructions but what they can gather
“ from vague, indigested sermons. I wish that
“ Christians were taught the first elements of
“ their religion, and were instructed with order
“ and

“ and regularity, till they came to the highest
 “ mysteries. This was formerly the practice.
 “ Ministers used to begin by catechisms, after
 “ which they taught the Gospel regularly by
 “ homilies, whereby Christians became perfectly acquainted with the whole word of
 “ God.”

In this manner pastors antiently taught their flock ; and the chief preparation they judged necessary for this important mystery, which they looked upon as very dreadful, was the study of the sacred writings. I shall content myself with citing here, the testimony and example of St. Austin. Valerius his bishop had ordained him priest, almost in spite of himself, in the view chiefly of making him exercise the ministry of preaching ; and indeed, he a little after obliged him to it. Who can express the fears, the inquietudes and alarms with which St. Austin was seized at the sight of this function ? And yet many look upon it as a sport, though this great man trembled at the sight of it. But what was wanting in him, either with regard to genius, or the knowledge necessary in a preacher ? And this his bishop represented to him. ‘ He himself owns, that he was well enough acquainted with all those things which relate to religion ; but then he imagined, that he was not sufficiently able to distribute those truths to others, so as to contribute to their salvation ; and this made him request so earnestly, that some time at least might be allowed him, in order to prepare himself for it, by the study of the holy scriptures, by prayer and by tears. “ That
 “ in case, says he, in his beautiful petition to his bishop, “ after experience has taught me the
 “ qualifications required in a man, who is en-

‘ Epist. 21. ad Valer.

“ trusted

“ trusted with the dispensation of the sacraments
“ and of the word of God ; you won’t allow me
“ time to acquire what I am sensible is wanting
“ in myself, you would then have me perish ?
“ Valerius, my dear father, where is your love
“ and charity ? For what answer shall I be
“ able to make to the Lord when he will judge
“ me ? Shall I tell him, that after I had once
“ accepted of ecclesiastical employments, it was
“ not possible for me to instruct myself in those
“ things which were necessary to enable me to dis-
“ charge them as I ought ?

All that St. Austin thought on this subject, the several fathers of the Church, who were charged with the ministry of preaching, have thought and practised in the same manner : St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chrysostom did thus, and pointed out the same course to their successors. This study therefore is necessary to all, and may be of vast use. A great number of clergymen, though of small abilities, are yet appointed to instruct children, the common people or peasants, whom the bare study of the holy Scriptures, and especially of the New Testament, will enable to acquit successfully of their duty ; and in whom this study, if carefully followed, will supply what they may be deficient in with regard to learning and utterance. § St. Austin advises, that the poorer they find themselves, the more they ought to borrow the riches of the Scripture ; that they should take from these an authority they could never have obtained, from their own persons, by enforcing their own words

§ Quanto se pauperiorem bet ex illis ; & qui propriis cernit in suis, tanto cum oportet in istis esse ditorem : ut testimonio quodammodo crescat. *De doctr. christ. l. 4. c. 5.*

with its testimony ; and that they should find in its greatness and strength, the means to grow in some measure, and to justify themselves by those divine writings.

The Study of the Fathers.

But in order to fill the more worthily, so sublime and important a ministry, we must join to the study of the sacred Writings, that of the doctors of the Church, who are the true interpreters of it, and whom Christ, the sole Sovereign of men, condescended to associate in that honourable quality, by enlightning them particularly with his knowledge.

The eloquence of the pulpit has an advantage over that of the bar, which is not sufficiently valued, and is not, in my opinion, sufficiently practised. In the latter, the orator draws almost every thing he is to say from his own understanding. He may make use of some thoughts, and some turns, borrowed from the antients ; but then he is not allowed to copy them : and though he were allowed this, his subject would seldom give him an opportunity to do it. But it is otherwise with a preacher ; for what subject soever he may handle, a spacious field is open to him in the Greek and Latin fathers, where he is sure to find all the most just and solid particulars which can be said on that subject ; not only principles and their consequences ; truths and their proofs of them ; the rules and their application, but even very often the thoughts and turns ; insomuch that an orator of no great abilities, is on a sudden enriched by the wealth of others, which becomes in some measure his own by the use he applies it to. And so far from objecting it to him as a crime, for thus adorning himself with these precious spoils ; he ought,

ought, on the contrary, to be censured, in case he presumed to prefer his own thoughts to those of such great men, who, by a peculiar privilege, were destined to instruct all ages and countries after their death.

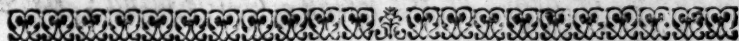
I do not pretend, in speaking thus, to confine the labour of preachers merely to extract the most beautiful passages from the fathers, and to deliver them thus detached to their hearers. However, though they should do this, their flock would not be thereby less instructed ; nor would their case be very hard, should they still have St. Ambrose, St. Austin and St. Chrysostom for their pastors. I have heard a clergyman in Paris, who was very much followed and admired, though most of his sermons were borrowed from Mr. Tourneux and Mr. Nicole. And indeed, what need the people care whence what they hear is borrowed, provided it be excellent and well adapted to their instruction ? But a preacher is allowed to lend, or rather to join his eloquence to that of those great men, by borrowing from them the foundation of proofs and arguments ; and by turning them after his manner, without following them servilely. If he undertakes, for instance, to shew why God permits just men to be afflicted in this life, St. Chrysostom, in his first homily to the people of Antioch, furnishes him ten or twelve different reasons, all supported by texts of Scripture ; and adds a greater number in other discourses. St. Austin has also some wonderful passages on this subject, which he treated often, because the good and just have at all times stood in need of this instruction and consolation. A preacher of genius, and happy in his expression, finding himself in the midst of these immense riches, of which he is allowed to take whatever he pleases, can he fail of delivering himself in a great, noble, majestic, and at the same

time solid and instructive manner? A person who is a little conversant with the fathers, immediately discovers whether a discourse was drawn from those springs; whether the proofs and principles were taken from thence; and though the preacher be ever so eloquent, or solid, in other respects, yet, if he is deficient in this part, he wants a very essential circumstance.

I again repeat, that this advantage is of inestimable value, and does not require infinite pains or time. Some years of retirement would suffice for this study, how extensive soever it may appear: and that man who should have made himself master only of the homilies of St. John Chrysostom, and St. Austin's sermons on the Old and New Testament, with some other little treatises of the latter, would there find all that is necessary to form the excellent preacher. These two great masters would alone suffice to teach him the manner how he is to instruct his flock, by teaching them religion thoroughly and from principles, and by clearly explaining to them its tenets and morality; but, above all, by making them perfectly acquainted with Christ, his doctrine, actions, sufferings, mysteries; and annexing these several instructions to the text itself of Scripture, the explication of which is equally adapted to the capacities, and the taste both of the learned and unlearned; and fixes the truths in the mind, in a more easy and agreeable manner.

One cannot inculcate too much to young men, after St. Austin's example, the necessity they will be under, in case God should one day call them to the ecclesiastical ministry, of going through a course of solid studies, of making the Scriptures familiar to themselves, and of taking the holy fathers for their guides and masters before they undertake to teach others.

SECT.



S E C T. V.

Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.

WHEN I propose to make some reflections here on the Eloquence of the Scriptures, I would not have them confounded with those of profane authors, by only pointing out to youth such passages in them as delight merely the ear and the sprightly faculties of the mind, and form them to a good taste. The design of God in speaking to mankind in his writings, was not undoubtedly to foment their pride and curiosity, or to make them orators and learned men, but to reform them. His intention in those sacred books, is not to please the imagination, or to teach us to raise that of others, but to purify and convert us, and to recall us from abroad, whither our senses lead us, to our heart where grace enlightens and instructs us.

It is certain, that the Divine Wisdom is attended with every kind of blessing, and possesses all those qualities which the age reveres, and which men can receive from her only. And how would it be possible for her not to be eloquent, she who opens the mouth of the dumb, and makes little children eloquent? *Who hath made man's mouth?* says she, speaking to Moses, who thought himself

^h Sapientia aperuit os mutorum & linguas infantium fecit disertas. *Sap.* 10. 2.

ⁱ Obsecro, Domine: non sum eloquens ab heri & nudius

tertius Quis fecit os hominis? aut quis fabricatus est mutum & surdum, videntem & cæcum? Nonne ego? *Exod.* iv. 10 & 11.

358 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

not possessed of a good utterance, *Who maketh the dumb, or deaf, or the seeing, or the blind; have not I the Lord?*

But the Divine Wisdom, in order to make itself more accessible and more eligible, has condescended to stoop to our language, to assume our tone of voice, and to stammer, as it were, with children. Hence it is, that the chief characteristic of the Scriptures, and which impresses itself on our minds, almost in all places, is simplicity.

This is still more apparent in the New Testament, and St. Paul discovers to us a very sublime reason of it. The Creator's design, at first, was to win over men to the knowledge of himself by the use of their reason, and by contemplation on the wisdom of his works. In this first plan, and this first manner of teaching, every thing was great and magnificent, every thing answered to the majesty of the God who spake, and the greatness of him who was instructed. But sin has destroyed that order, and occasioned a quite opposite method to be used. ** For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe.* Now part of this folly consists in the simplicity of the evangelical word and doctrine. God was determined to discredit the vanity of eloquence, of knowledge, and the wisdom of philosophers; and to bring into contempt the pomp of human pride, in writing the books of Scripture, by which only mankind are to be converted, in a style quite different from that of the heathen writers. These seem studious only of heightning their discourses by ornaments, whereas the sacred penmen never endeavour to display any thing like it in their writings, in order not

to bereave Christ's cross of the honour of converting the world, by giving it either to the charms of eloquence, or to the strength of human reason.

If therefore, notwithstanding the simplicity, which is the true characteristic of the Scriptures, we yet meet with such beautiful, such sublime passages in them; 'tis very remarkable, that this beauty, this sublimity, do not arise from a far-fetched, laboured elocution, but from the things, which are so great, so lofty in themselves, that they must necessarily appear magnificent when clothed in words.

Furthermore, the Divine Wisdom has employed the same method in speaking to men, as she did in the incarnation, by which she wrought their salvation. She was indeed veiled and darkned by the distasteful appearance of infamy, silence, poverty, contradictions, humiliations, and sufferings: but then, she always suffered some rays of majesty and power to escape through these veils, which clearly discovered her divinity. This double character of simplicity and majesty, is conspicuous also in every part of the sacred Writings: and when we seriously examine, what this Wisdom suffered for our salvation, and wrote for our instruction, we discover equally in both the eternal Word, by whom all things were made, *In principio erat verbum*; this is the source of its grandeur; but its assuming the flesh for our sakes, & *verbum caro factum est*; this is the cause of its weakness.

'Twas necessary to use these precautions, and to lay down these principles, before I undertook to point out, in the Scriptures, such particulars as relate to eloquence. For otherwise, by setting too high a value on these kind of beauties, we should expose young people to the danger of having less veneration for those passages of Scripture, where it is more accessible to *little ones*, although

360 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

it be as divine in these places as in any other, and often conceals deeper things : or we should expose them to another danger, equally to be avoided, which is, to neglect those very things which wisdom addresses to us, and to attend only to the manner in which she delivers them ; and by that means, to set a less value on the salutary counsel she gives us, than on the touches of eloquence which fall from her. Now, it is injurious to her, to admire only her train, and not gaze upon her ; or to be more touched with the gifts she often bestows on her enemies, than with the graces which she reserves for her children and disciples.

I shall run over different matters, but not in a very exact order. I elsewhere took notice, that most of the reflections which the reader will find here on the Scriptures are not mine ; which indeed the beauty of the style will shew.

I. Simplicity of the mysterious Writings.

* *They crucified him there.*

The more we reflect on the inimitable character of the Gospel-writers, the more we discover that they were not dictated by the spirit of man. These barely say in few words, that their master was crucified, without discovering the least surprize, compassion or acknowledgment. Who would have spoke in this manner of a friend that had laid down his life for him ? What son would have related in so short, so unaffected a manner, how his father had saved him from death, by suffering in his stead ? But it is in this that the finger of God appears conspicuous ; and the less man appears in a behaviour that has so little humanity in it, the more the operation of God is manifest.

* Luke xxii. 33.

The

¹ The prophets describe Christ's sufferings, in a lively, affecting and pathetic manner, and abound with sentiments and reflections ; but the Evangelists relate them with simplicity, without emotion, or reflections ; without breaking out into admiration or testimonies of gratitude ; or discovering the least design to work in such a manner upon their readers, as to make them disciples of Christ. 'Twas not natural, that persons who lived so many years before Christ, should be so touched with his sufferings ; nor that men who were eye-witnesses of his cross, and so zealous for his glory, should speak with so much calmness of the unheard-of crime that was perpetrated against him. The strong zeal and affection of the Apostles might have been suspected, which that of the Prophets could not be. But had not the Evangelists and the Prophets been inspired, the former would have writ with greater force and fire, and the latter with more coldness and indifference ; the one would have shewn a desire to persuade, and the other such a timidity and hesitation in their conjectures as would not have affected any one. All the Prophets are ardent, zealous, full of respect and veneration for the mysteries they publish ; but as for the Evangelists, they are calm ; and are masters of an inimitable moderation, tho' their zeal is as strong as that of the Prophets. What man but sees the hand which guided both the one and the other ? And what more sensible proof can we have of the divinity of the Scriptures, than their not resembling, in any particular, such things as are written by men ? But at the same time, how much ought such an example, and there are multitudes of the same kind, that teach us to venerate the august simplicity of the sacred books, which frequently conceal the most sublime truths, and the most profound mysteries ?

¹ David ps. x. xi. & lxviii. Isai. c. l. & liii. Jerem. c. xviii. &c.

362 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

^m 'Tis much in the same manner, that the scripture relates, that Isaac was laid, by Abraham, on the wood which was to be his funeral pile, and was bound before he was sacrificed, without telling us one word either of the sentiments of the son, or of the words his father spoke to him: without preparing us for such a sacrifice by any reflections, or telling us in what manner the father and son submitted to it. Josephus the historian puts a pretty long, but very beautiful and moving discourse into Abraham's mouth; but Moses describes him as silent, and is himself silent on that occasion. The reason of this is, the former wrote as a man, and as his genius prompted him; whereas the other was the pen and instrument of the word of God, who dictated all his words.

II. *Simplicity and Grandeur.*

ⁿ *In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.* What man who was to have treated of such exalted matters, would have begun as Moses did? How majestic, and at the same time how simple is this? Don't we perceive, that 'tis God himself who instructs us in a wonder which does not astonish him, and which he is superior to? A common man would have endeavoured to suit the magnificence of his expressions to the grandeur of his subject, and would have discovered only his weakness; but eternal Wisdom, who made the world in sport, relates it without the least emotion.

The Prophets, whose aim was, to make us admire the wonders of the creation, speak of it in a very different manner.

^m Gen. ch. xxii.

ⁿ Gen. i. 1.

ⁿ *Ludens in orbe terrarum.*
Prov. viii. 31.

Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings. 363

P The Lord is King, and hath put on glorious apparel; the Lord hath put on his apparel, and girded himself with strength.

The holy King, transported in spirit at the first origin of the world, describes in the most pompous expressions, in what manner God, who hitherto had remained unknown, invisible, and hid in the impenetrable secret of his Being, manifested himself on a sudden, by a croud of incomprehensible wonders.

The Lord, says he, at last comes forth from his solitude. He will not be alone happy, just, holy, but will reign by his goodness and bounty. But with what glory is the immortal King invested! What riches has he displayed to us! From what source do so many lights and beauties flow? Where were those treasures, that rich pomp hid, which issued out of the womb of darkness? How great must the majesty of the Creator be, if that which surrounds him imprints so great an awe and veneration! What must he himself be when his works are so magnificent!

The same prophet in another psalm, coming out of a profound meditation on the works of God, and filled with admiration and gratitude, exhorts himself to praise and bless an infinite majesty and goodness, whose wonders astonish, and whose blessings oppress him. *9 Praise the Lord, O my soul: O Lord my God, thou art become exceeding glorious, thou art clothed with majesty and honour. . . . Thou deckest thyself with light, as it were with a garment; and spreadest out the heavens like a curtain.* Would not one think that the God of ages had clothed himself on a sudden with magnificence; and that issuing from

P Dominus regnavit: decorem indutus est. Indutus est Dominus fortitudinem, & prae-cinxit se. Ps. xcii. 1.

9 Benedic anima mea Domino, Domine Deus meus, mag-

nificatus est vehementer. Confessionem [Heb. gloriam] & decorem induisti, amictus lumine sicut vestimento. Psal. ciii. 1, 2.

the

364 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

the secret part of his palace, he displayed himself in light? But all this is but his outward cloathing, and as a mantle which hides him. Thy Majesty, O my God! is infinitely above the light that surrounds it. I fix my eyes on thy garments, not being able to fix them on thy self: I can discern the rich embroidery of thy purple, but I shall cease to see thee, should I dare to raise my eyes to thy face.

'Twill be of use, to compare in this manner the simplicity of the historian, with the sublime magnificence of the prophets. These speak of the same things, but in quite a different view. The same may be observed with regard to all the circumstances of the creation. I shall present the reader with only a few of them, by which he may form a judgment of the rest.

' God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: He made the stars also.

Can any thing be more simple and at the same time more august? I shall speak only of the sun and stars, and will begin with the last.

God only is allowed to speak with indifference of the most astonishing spectacle with which he had adorned the universe: *And the stars.* He declares in one word, what cost him but a word; but who can fathom the vast extent of this word? Do we consider that these stars are innumerable, all infinitely greater than the earth; all, the planets excepted, an inexhaustible source of light? 'But what order fix'd their ranks? and whom does that host of heaven, all whose centinels are so watch-

' Fecit Deus duo luminaria magna: luminare majus, ut præssset diei & luminare minus; ut præssset nocti, & stellas. Gen. i. 16.

' Stellæ dederunt lumen in

custodiis suis, & lætatæ sunt. Vocatæ sunt, & dixerunt, Adsumus, & luxerunt ei cum jucunditate, qui fecit illas. Baruc. iii. 34, 35.

ful,

ful, obey with so much punctuality and joy? The firmament, set with such a numberless multitude of stars, * is the first preacher who declared the glory of the Almighty; and to make all men inexcusable, we need only that book written in characters of light.

As for the sun, who can behold it stedfastly, and bear for any time the splendor of its rays? *" The sun when it appeareth, declaring at his rising a marvellous instrument, the work of the most High: At noon it parcheth the country, and who can abide the burning heat thereof? A man blowing a furnace is in works of heat, but the sun burneth the mountains three times more; breathing out fiery vapours, and sending forth bright beams, it dimmeth the eyes. Great is the Lord that made it, and at his commandment it runneth hastily.* Is this then the same sun, which is mentioned in Genesis in so plain and simple a manner: *He made its light greater, that it might preside over the day?* How many beauties are comprehended, and as it were veiled under these few words! Can we conceive the pomp and profusion with which the sun begins his course; the colours with which he embellishes nature; and with what magnificence he himself is arrayed at his appearing on the horizon, as the spouse whom heaven and earth await, and whose delight he forms? *He cometh forth out of his chamber as a bridegroom.* But behold in what manner he unites the majesty and graces of a spouse, with the rapid course of a giant, who is less studious to please, than to carry through-

* Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei, & opera manuum ejus annuntiat firmamentum. *Pf. xviii. 1.*

" Sol. . . vas admirabile, opus excelsi. In meridiano exurit terram, in conspectu ardoris ejus quis poterit sustinere? Fornacem custodiens in operibus ar-

doris: tripliciter sol exurens montes, radios igneos exsufflans, & refulgens radiis suis obcecatur oculos. Magnus Dominus qui fecit illum, & in sermonibus ejus festinavit iter, *Ecl. xliii. 2, 5.*

366 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

out the world, the news of the Prince who sends him, and who is less attentive to his dress than to his duty. *He exulted as a giant who is to run his race. He came from the highest heaven, and his course is to its height; nor can any one bide himself from his beat.* His light is as strong and diffusive as at the first day, so that the perpetual deluge of fire which spreads from all parts of it, has not diminished the incomprehensible source of so full and precipitated a profusion. The prophet had just reason to cry out, *Great is the Lord who made it!* How great is the majesty of the Creator, and what must he himself be, since his works are so august!

3. I shall add farther, that passage which relates to the creation of the sea: *"God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together under one place and let the dry land appear.*

Had not the prophets assisted us in discovering the wonders concealed under the superficies of these words, their depth would be more unfathomable with regard to us, than that of the sea.

This commandment, which is here but a single expression, is a dreadful menace, and a thunder according to the prophet. ** The waters stood above the mountains. At thy rebuke they fled: at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away.* Instead of running off gently, they fled with fear; they hasted to precipitate themselves, and to crowd one over the other, in order to leave that space void which they seemed to have usurp'd, since God drove them from thence. Something like this happened when God made his people to pass thro' the Red Sea and the river Jordan, *The Red Sea made a noise, and was dried up; whence*

^w Gen. i. 9.

voce tonitru tui formidabunt.

^x Super montes stabunt aquæ.

Pf. ciii. 6, 7.

Ab imprecatione tua fugient: à

another prophet takes occasion *y* to ask God, whether he is angry at the river and the seas.

In the tumultuous obedience, where the frightened waters, one would imagine, should have swept away every thing in their course, an invisible hand governed them with as much ease as a mother governs and handles a child she had first swath'd, and afterwards put into his cradle. 'Tis under these images God represents to us what he did at that time. *z* *Who shut up the sea with doors, when it brake forth as if it had issued out of the womb? When I made the cloud the garment thereof, and thick darkness a swadling band for it; and brake up for it my decreed place, and set bars and doors, and said hitherto shall thou come but no further: and here shall thy proud waves be stayed?* There is no occasion to raise the beauty of these last words, for who is not affected with them? God marked out bounds to the sea, and it did not dare to transgress them: *a* That which was written on its shores prevented it from going beyond them; and that element which appears the most ungovernable, was equally obedient both in its flight and in its rest. This obedience has continued the same for many ages; and how tumultuous soever the waves may appear, the in-

y Numquid in fluminibus iratus es Domine? vel in mari indignatio tua? *Habac.* iii. 8.

z Quis conclusit ostiis mare, *said he to Job,* [*Heb.* Quis protexit in valvis mare, cum ex utero prodiens exiret?] quando erumpebat, quasi de vulva procedens: cum ponerem nubem vestimentum ejus, & caligine illud, quasi pannis infamiae, obvolverem! Circumdedi illud terminis meis, [*Heb.* decrevi super eo decretum meum] & po-

sui vestem & ostia. Et dixi: Usque huc venies, & non procedes amplius, & hic confringes tumentes fluctus tuos. [*Heb.* meta hæc confringet tumorem fluctuum tuorum.] *Job* xxxviii. 8, 10.

a Posui arenam terminum mari, præceptum sempiternum, quod non præteribit. Et commovebuntur, & non poterunt, & intumescent fluctus ejus, & non transibunt illud, *Jerem.* v. 22.

368 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

stant they come near the shore, God's prohibition keeps them in awe and stops their progress.

III. *The beauty of the Scripture does not arise from the words, but the things.*

'Tis well known, that the most excellent Greek or Latin authors, lose most of their graces when translated literally, because a great part of their beauty consists in the expression: But as that of the scriptures consists more in the things than the words, we find it strikes in the most verbal translation. This will plainly appear from every part of the scripture. I shall content my self with transcribing only two or three passages from it.

I. ^b *Wo unto them that joyn house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth. In mine ears said the Lord of Hosts, of a truth many houses shall be desolate, even great and fair without inhabitant.*

There is nothing in all the eloquence of the heathens, comparable to the vivacity of the reproach which the prophet here makes to the wise men of his time, who, neglecting the law of God, which had assigned to every man in particular, a portion of the promised land, with a prohibition to alienate it for ever; swallowed up in their wide-extended parks, the vineyard, the field, and the house of those who were so unhappy as to live near them.

But the reflection which the prophet adds, seems

^b *Væ qui conjungitis domum ad domum, & agrum agro copulatis usque ad terminum loci. [Heb. Donec deficiat locus.] Numquid habitabitis vos soli in medio terræ? In auribus meis* * *Dominus exercituum: Nisi domus multæ desertæ fuerint grandes & pulchræ absque habitatore. Isai. v. 8, 9.*

* *Thus the Hebrew version had it; but the Latin version ascribes these words to God, not to the prophet. In auribus meis sunt hæc: dicit Dominus exercituum.*

to me no less eloquent, notwithstanding its great simplicity ; *In mine ears said the Lord of Hosts.* I hear the Lord ; his voice is at my ear. Whilst the whole world attends to nothing but their pleasures, and that no one hears the law of God, I already hear his thunder roaring against those ambitious rich men, who think of nothing but building and settling themselves on the earth. God echoes in my ear a perpetual threat against their vain enterprizes, and a kind of oath more dreadful than the threat itself, because 'tis a proof 'tis ready to break forth, and is irrevocable : *Of a truth many houses shall be desart, &c.*

2. The same prophet describes the characteristics of the Messiah in a wonderful manner. *For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder : and his name shall be called, Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of peace.*

I shall consider only the following expression, *and the government shall be upon his shoulder* ; this includes a wonderful image, and has a peculiar energy when considered very attentively.

Jesus Christ shall be born an infant, but then he shall not wait either for years or experience before he reigns. He shall not stand in need of being recognized by his subjects, nor of being assisted by his armies, in order to subdue the rebels ; for he himself will be his strength, his power, his royalty. He shall differ infinitely from other Kings who cannot be such unless they are recognized by some state ; and who fall into the condition of private men, if their subjects refuse to obey them. Their authority is not their own, nor from themselves,

^c Parvulus natus est nobis, & filius datus est nobis, & factus est [*Heb. & erit*] principatus super humerum ejus ; & voca-

bitur nomen ejus, Admirabilis, Consiliarius, Deus, Fortis, Pater futuri sæculi, Princeps pacis. *Isai. ix. 6.*

nor can they give it duration. But the child who shall be born, even when he shall appear to be in want of all things, and to be incapable of commanding, shall bear all the weight of his divine majesty and royalty. ^d He shall support every thing by his efficacy and power; and his sovereign authority shall reside fully and wholly in himself, *and the government shall be upon his shoulder.* Nothing shall prove this better than the method itself he shall make choice of to reign. He must have from himself, and independent of all exterior means, a sovereign power, in order to make himself be worshipped by mankind, notwithstanding the ignominy of the cross, which he condescended to take upon himself; and to change the instrument of his punishment into the instrument of his victory, and the most splendid mark of his sovereignty; *the government shall be upon his shoulder.*

Those who study the Scripture attentively, find that the beauty of it consists in the strength and greatness of the thoughts.

IV. DESCRIPTION.

1. Cyrus was the greatest conqueror, and the most accomplished Prince mentioned in history, the reason of which the Scripture tells us, *viz.* that God had himself taken a pleasure in forming him, for the accomplishment of the merciful designs he meditated with regard to his people. He calls him by his name two hundred years before his birth, and declares, that he himself will set the crown on his head, and put a sword in his hand, in order that he may deliver his people.

^d *Portans omnia verbo virtutis suae. Heb. i. 3.*

Ecce Deus vester: ecce Do-

minus Deus in fortitudine veniet, & brachium suum dominabitur. Isa. xl. 10.

Thus

* Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him : and I will loose the loins of kings to open before him the two leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places strait : I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God besides me : I girded thee, thou hast not known me.

In another place, he commands Cyrus King of the Persians, then called Elamites, to set out with the Medes ; he orders the siege to be made, and the walls to fall down. † *March, Elam ; Mede, do thou besiege. In fine, Babylon will no longer make others sigh.* Let him come now at my command ; let him join with the Medes ; let him besiege a city which is an enemy to my worship and to my people ; let him obey me without knowing me ; let him follow me with his eyes closed ; let him execute my commands without being either of my counsel, or in my confidence ; and let him teach all Princes, and even all men, how I am sovereign over empires, events, and even wills ; since I make myself be equally obeyed by Kings, and by every private soldier in the army, without having any occasion either to reveal myself, or to exhort, or employ any other means than my will, which is also my power. ‡ *That they may*

* Hæc dicit Dominus Christo meo Cyro, cujus apprehendi dexteram, ut subjiciam ante faciem ejus gentes, & dorsa regum vertam, & aperiâ coram eo januas, & portæ non claudentur. Ego ante te ibo, & gloriosos terræ humiliabo : portas æreas conteram, & vectes

ferreos confringam Ego Dominus, & non est amplius : extra me non est Deus. Accinxi te : & non cognovisti me. *Isa. xlv. 1. 2. n. 5.*

† Ascende, Ælam : obside, Mede : omnem gemitum ejus cessare feci. *Isa. ii. 2.*

‡ *Isaiah xlv. 6.*

372 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none besides me, I am the Lord, and there is none else.

How majestic are these few words! *Go up, Elam; Prince of the Persians, set out. Besiege, Mede: and you, Prince of the Medes, form the siege. I have made all their groans to cease: Babylon is taken and plundered: it has no power; its tyranny is at an end.*

2. The scriptures have painted in the strongest colours, how greatly sensible God is to the oppression of the poor and the weak, as well as to the injustice of the judges and the mighty of the earth.

^b *Isaiah represents to us truth feeble and trembling, imploring, but in vain, the assistance of the judges, and presenting herself to no purpose before every tribunal. Access is denied her every where; she is in all places rejected, forgot, and trodden under foot. Interest prevails over right, and the good man is delivered up a prey to the unjust. And the Lord said it, and it displeased him that there was no judgment. And he saw that there was no man, and he wondered that there was no intercessor.*

His silence would make me conclude, either that he does not see those disorders, or that he is indifferent to them. It is not so, says the prophet in another place; Every thing is prepared for judgment, whilst men are not thinking any thing of the matter. ⁱ The invisible judge is present.

^b *Conversum est retrorsum judicium, & justitia longè stetit: quia corruit in platea veritas, & æquitas non potuit ingredi. Et facta est veritas in oblivionem: & qui recessit à malo, prædæ patuit: & vidit Dominus, & malum apparuit*

in oculis ejus, quia non est judicium. Et vidit quia non est vir: & aporiatu est, quia non est qui occurrat. Isa. lix. 15, 16.

ⁱ *Stat ad judicandum [Heb. concertandum]. Dominus, & stat ad judicandos populos. Dominus*

fent. He is standing in order to take in hand the defence of those who have no other ; and to pronounce a very different sentence against the unjust, and those who are poor and weak. *The Lord will enter into judgment with the anicients of the people, and the princes thereof ; for ye have eaten up the vineyard ; the spoil of the poor is in their houses. What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor ? says the Lord God of Hosts.* Nothing can be stronger or more eloquent than the reproaches which God makes in this place to the judges and princes of his people. How ! You who ought to defend my people, as a vine that was committed to your care ; you who ought to serve as a hedge and rampart to it ; 'tis you yourselves have made wild havock of this vine, and ruined it, as though the ^k fire had past over it. *And you eat the vine.* Had you been but a little tender of your brethren, and not ruined them entirely ! but after you have stript my people, you lay them in the wine-presser ; in order to squeeze the marrow out of their bones : *You bruise them ; you crush them under the mill, in order to grind them to dust ; you grind them.* You perhaps intend to conceal your thefts and rapine from me, by converting them into proud furniture for the ornament of your houses. I have followed with attentive and jealous eyes, all you have despoiled your brother of ; and see it, notwithstanding your great endeavours to hide it. *The spoil of the poor in your houses.* Every thing calls aloud for vengeance, and shall obtain it ; it shall fall on you

minus ad judicium veniet cum
fenibus populi sui, & principibus
ejus. Vos enim [*Heb. & vos*] depasti estis vineam. Rapina
pauperis in domo vestra.

Quare atteritis populum meum,
& facies pauperum commo-
litis, dicit Dominus Deus exer-
cituum ? *Isa. iii. 13,--15.*

^k So the original says.

374 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

and your children ; and the son of an unjust father, as he inherits his crime, will also inherit my anger, ¹ *Wo to him that buildeth a town with blood, and stablisheth a city by iniquity. For the straw shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it.*

We observe a quite opposite character in the person of Job, who was the pattern or example of a good judge and a good prince. ^m *For from my youth (compassion) was brought up with me, as with a father, and I have guided her from my mother's womb I put on righteousness, and it clothed me ; my judgment was as a robe and a diadem . . . I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me ; and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy . . . I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the poor . . . I brake the jaws of the wicked, and pluckt the spoil out of his teeth.*

3. I shall conclude with a description of a very different kind from those which preceded it, but no less remarkable ; 'tis that of a war-horse, which God himself described in the book of Job.

ⁿ *Hast thou, says God to Job, given the horse strength ?*

¹ *Væ qui ædificat civitatem in sanguinibus Quia lapis de pariete clamabit : & lignum, quod inter juncturas ædificiorum est, respondebit. Hab. ii. 11, 12.*

^m *Ab infantia mea crevit mecum miseratio : [Heb. educavit me] & ab utero matris deduxi illam Liberabam pauperem vociferantem, & pupillum cui non erat adjutor. Benedictio perituri super me veniebat, & cor viduæ conso-*

latus sum, Justitia indutus sum ; & vestivi me, sicut vestimento & diademate, judicio meo. Oculus fui cæco, & pes claudio. Pater eram pauperum Conterebam molas iniqui, & de dentibus illius aufereram prædam. Job cap. xxxi. 18. & cap. xxix. 12, 14, 17.

ⁿ *Numquid præbebis equo fortitudinem, aut circumdabis collo ejus hinnitum ? Numquid suscitabis eum quasi locustas ? Gloria narum ejus terror, Terram*

Strength? Hast thou clothed his neck with thunder? Canst thou make him afraid as a grasshopper? The glory of his nostrils is terrible. He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength: he goeth on to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted; neither turneth he back from the sword. The quiver rattleth against him, the glittering spear and the shield. He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage; neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet. He saith among the trumpets, Ha, ha; and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and shouting.

Every word of this would merit an explication, in order to display the beauties of it; but I shall take notice only of the latter, which give a kind of understanding and speech to the horse.

Armies are a long time before they are set in battle array, and are sometimes a long time in view of one another without moving. All the motions are marked by particular signals, and the soldiers are appointed to perform their various duties, by the sound of trumpet. This slowness is importunate to the horse: as he is ready at the first sound of the trumpet, he is very impatient to find the army must so often have notice given to it. He murmurs secretly against all these delays, and not being able to continue in his place, nor to disobey orders, he strikes the ground perpetually with his hoof, and complains, in his way, that the soldiers lose their time in gazing one upon another. He

Terram ungula fodit: exultat reputat tubæ sonare clangor-
audacter: in occursum pergit rem. Ubi audierit buccinam,
armatis. Contemnit pavorem, dicit; Vah! Procul odoratur
rem, nec cedit gladio. Super bellum, exhortationem ducum,
ipsum sonabit pharetra, vibra- & ululatum exercitus. Job
bit hasta & clypeus. Feruens xxxix. 19, 25.
& fremens sorbet terram, nec

376 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage. In his impatience, he considers as nothing all such signals as are not decisive, and which only point out some circumstances to which he is not attentive; *neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet.* But when it is in earnest, and that the last blast of the trumpet calls to battle, then the whole countenance of the horse is changed. One would conclude that he distinguishes, as by his smell, that the battle is going to begin; and that he heard the general's orders distinctly, and he answers the confused cries of the army, by a noise which discovers his joy and courage. *He saith among the trumpets ha, ha, and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and shouting.*

If the reader compares the admirable descriptions which Homer and Virgil give of the horse, he will find this is vastly superior.

V. FIGURES.

'Twould be an endless labour to run over all the different kinds of figures which are found in the Scriptures. The passages above cited include a large number, and to these I shall add a few more, especially of those that are most common, such as the metaphor, the simile, the repetition, the apostrophe, and prosopopeia.

I. *The Metaphor and Simile.*

◦ *I have always dreaded the anger of God, as waves hanging over my head, and I could not bear the weight of them.* What an idea does this give us of God's anger! waves that swallow up

◦ *Semper quasi tumentes super me fluctus timui Deum, & Job xxxi. 25.*

every

every thing, a weight that oppresses and dashes to pieces. *P I shall bear the anger of the Lord. How can we bear it to all eternity?*

Nor is the magnificence of God with regard to his elect, less difficult to be comprehended and explained. *¶ He will make them drunk with his blessings, and will overflow them with a flood of delights.*

But here is another kind of drunkenness reserved for the wicked. *¶ Thou shalt be filled with drunkenness and sorrow, says a Prophet to wicked Jerusalem, with the cup of astonishment and desolation, with the cup of my sister Samaria. Thou shalt even drink it, and suck it out, and thou shalt break the sherds thereof, and pluck off thine own breasts: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord.* This is a dreadful picture of the rage of the damned, but infinitely fainter than truth.

2. Repetition.

¶ Like as I have watched over them, to pluck up, and to break down, and to throw down, and to destroy, and to afflict; so will I watch over them, to build, and to plant, saith the Lord. The conjunction here repeated several times, denotes, as it were, so many redoubled strokes of God's anger.

¶ Mich. vii. 9.

¶ Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuæ: & torrente voluptatis tuæ potabis eos. Psal. xxxv. 9.

¶ Ebrietate & dolore repleberis: calice mœoris & tristitiæ, calice sororis tuæ Samariæ. Et bibes illum, & epotabis usque ad fæces, & fragmenta ejus

devorabis, & ubera tua lacerabis: quia ego locutus sum, ait Dominus Deus. Ezek. xxiii. 33 & 34.

¶ Sicut vigilavi super eos ut evellerem, & demolirer, & dissiparem, & disperderem, & affligerem: sic vigilabo super eos ut ædificem, & plantem, ait Dominus. Jer. xxxi. 28.

Babylon

378 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

* *Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.* This repetition, which is also in *Isaiah*, denotes that the fall of this great city will appear incredible; and that every one, before he will believe it really is so, will cause it to be repeated several times to him.

* *Now will I rise, saith the Lord; now will I be exalted, now will I lift up myself.* That is to say, after having a long time to lie asleep, he will at length come out of his sleep, to undertake the defence of his people with splendor, and that the moment is come; *Now, now.* God expresses himself still more strongly in the same Prophet. *I have long time bidden my peace, I have been still and restrained myself: now will I cry like a travailing woman; I will destroy and devour at once.*

Apostrophe, Prosopopeia.

These two figures are often blended. The latter consists chiefly in giving life, sensation or speech to inanimate things, or in speaking to them.

In the 136th Psalm, 'tis a citizen of Jerusalem banished to Babylon, who sitting mournfully on the banks of the river which watered that city, breathes his grief and complaints, in turning his eyes towards his dear country. His masters who kept him in captivity, urged him to play (in order to divert them) some airs on his musical instrument.

* *Cecidit, cecidit Babylon illa magna; quæ a vino iræ fornicationis suæ potavit omnes gentes.* *Apoc. xiv. 8.*

* *Isaiah xxi. 9.*

* *Nunc confurgam, dicit Do-*

minus: nunc exaltabor: nunc sublevabor. *Isa. xxxiii. 10.*

* *Tacui semper, filii, patiens sui; sicut parturiens loquar: dissipabo & absorbebo simul.* *Isa. xlii. 14.*

But he, filled with grief and indignation, cries out,
* *How shall we sing the Lord's song, in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.* How tender! how affecting, does this apostrophe to the city of Jerusalem make the discourse of this banished Jew! He imagines he sees it, discourses with it, protests with an oath, that he will lose his voice and the use of his tongue, and that of his instruments, rather than forget it, by partaking in the false joys of Babylon.

The sacred Writers make a wonderful use of the prosopopeia, and Jerusalem is often the object of it. I shall content myself with pointing out only a single example taken from * Baruch, where that Prophet describes the unhappiness of the Jews who are led captives to Babylon. He introduces Jerusalem as a mother in the deepest affliction, but at the same time obedient to the instructions of God, how rigorous soever, who commands his children to obey the sentence which condemns them to banishment; who bewails her solitary condition and their miseries; who represents to them, that 'tis the just punishment for their prevarications and ingratitude; who gives them salutary advices, to teach them to make a holy use of their severe captivity; and who, at last, full of confidence in the goodness and promises of God, promises them a glorious return. The Prophet afterwards addresses himself to Jerusalem, and comforts her, from the prospect that her children will be recalled, and the several advantages which will accrue from it.

* *Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena? Si oblitus fuero tui, Jerusalem, oblivioni detur [Heb. obliviscatur] dextera mea. Adhæreat*

lingua mea faucibus meis, si meminero tui. Ps. cxxxvii.

4. 5. 6.

* Baruch cap. v. 1--4.

380 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

Put off, O Jerusalem, the garment of thy mourning and affliction, and put on the comeliness of the glory that cometh from God for ever . . . For thy name shall be called of God for ever, the peace of righteousness, and the glory of God's worship.

Nothing is more common in the Scriptures than to give life to the sword of God. ^b God lays his command on it, it sharpens, it polishes itself, prepares to obey; sets out at the appointed moment; goes where God sends it, devours his enemies, fattens itself with their flesh, gets drunk with their blood; grows hot with slaughter; and after having executed its master's commands, returns to its place. The Prophet Jeremiah unites almost all these ideas in one place, and adds others to them of a still more lively nature. ^c *O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? Put up thyself into thy scabbard; rest and be still. How can it be quiet,* replies the Prophet, *seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against Ashkelon, and against the sea-shore? There hath be appointed it.*

VI. SUBLIME PASSAGES.

^d *God said, Let there be light, and there was light:* 'Tis in the original, *God said, Let light be, and light was.*

^b *Mucro, mucro, e vagina te ad occidendum: lima te ut interficias & fulgeas. Gladius exacutus est, & limatus. Ut cædat victimas, exacutus est, ut splendeat, limatus est, Ezek. xxi. v. 28. & ix. 10.*

Gladius Domini repletus est sanguine, incrassatus est adipe. Isaiab xxxiv. 6.

Devorabit gladius, & satura-

bitur, & inebriabitur sanguine eorum. Jerem. xli. 10.

^c *O mucro Domini usquequo non quiesces? Ingredere in vaginam tuam, refrigerare, & file. Quomodo quiescet, cum Dominus præceperit ei adversus Ascalonem . . . ibique condixerit illi? Jer. xlvii. 6, 7.*

^d *Gen. i. 3.*

Where

Where was it a moment before? How could it spring from even the womb of darkness? At the same instant with light, the several colours which spring from it, embellished all nature. The world that had been hitherto plunged in darkness, seemed to issue a second time from nothing; and every thing, by being enlightned, was beautified.

* This was produced by a single word, whose majesty even struck the Heathens, who admired at Moses's making God speak as a sovereign; and that instead of employing expressions which a little genius would have found magnificent, he should have contented himself with the following, *God said, let there be light, and there was light.*

And, indeed, nothing can be greater or more elevated than this way of thinking. To create light (and 'tis the same here with regard to the universe) God needed only to speak: it would be too much to say, he needed only to have willed it^f, for the voice of God is his will; he speaks as a commander, and commands by his decrees.

The Vulgate has a little lessened the vivacity of the expression: *God said, let the light be made, and the light was made.* For the word *made*, which has different degrees among men, and supposes a succession of times, seems in some sort to retard the work of God, which was performed at the very moment he would have it, and received its perfection in an instant.

The Prophet Isaiah makes God deliver himself, with the same sublimity, when he foretells the tak-

* Longin.

^f Dicere Dei, voluisse est. S. Eucher.

Naturæ opifex lucem locutus

est, & creavit. Sermo Dei, voluntas est: opus Dei, natura est. S. Ambrose.

382 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

ing of Babylon, * I am the Lord that maketh all things, that stretcheth forth the heavens alone, that spreadeth abroad the earth by my self; . . . That saith to the deep, be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers; That saith of Cyrus, he is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, thy foundation shall be laid.

The Kings of Syria and Israel had swore the destruction of Judah, and the measures they had taken for that purpose, seemed to make its ruin unavoidable. A single word baffles their design, * Thus saith the Lord God, it shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass.

The same thought is amplified in another place; and the prophet who knows that God has promised to prolong the race of David, till the time of the Messiah who was to spring from him, despises with a holy pride the vain efforts of the princes and nations who conspired to destroy the family and throne of David. * Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; and give ear all ye of far countries; gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces; gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces. Take counsel to-

* Ego sum Dominus, faciens omnia: extendens celos solus, stabiliens terram, & nullus mecum. . . Qui dico profundo, desolare, & flumina tua arefaciam. Qui dico Cyro: Pastor meos es, & omnem voluntatem meam complebis. Qui dico Jerusalem: Aedificaberis, & templo: Fundaberis. *Isai*, xlv. 24, 27, 28.

He names the Euphrates, which Cyrus dried up in order

to take Babylon.

* Hæc dicit Dominus Deus: Non stabit, & non erit istud. *Is.* vii. 7.

* Congregamini, populi, & vincimini: & audite universæ procul terræ: confortamini, & vincimini: accingite vos, & vincimini: inite consilium, & dissipabitur: loquimini verbum, & non fiet: quia nobiscum Deus. *Isai*, c. viii. v. 9, 10.

gether, and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand; for God is with us. Isaiah here prophesies in words suitable to the infinite power of God, that tho' all men should unite together, they yet shall not retard, one instant, immutable promises; that confederacies, conspiracies, secret designs, powerful armies shall have no effect, that all those who attack the weak kingdom of Judah shall be overcome; that the whole universe united shall not be able to effect any thing against him: and that the circumstance which will render him invincible, is, *God's being with him*, or, which is the same thing, because Emanuel is his protector and his King, and that *his* interest is the present concern, rather than that of the Princes he is to spring from.

Numberless obstacles opposed the design which Zerubbabel had of causing the temple of Jerusalem to be rebuilt; and these obstacles, like so many mountains, seemed to defy all human efforts, God only speaks, but with the voice of a sovereign, and the mountain vanishes: *Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel men shall become a plain.*

Every one knows the energy with which the scriptures make the impious man to vanish, who a moment before seemed, like the cedar, to raise his proud head to the skies. *"I have seen the wicked in great power: and spreading himself like a green bay tree: yet he passed away, and lo, he was not: yea I sought him, but he could not be found.* He is so completely annihilated, that the very place where he stood was destroyed. M. Racine has translated this passage as follows.

"Ps. xxxvii. v. 35, 36.

J'ai vu l'impie adoré sur la terre.
Pareil au cédre, il cachoit dans le cieux
Son front audacieux.

Il sembloit à son gré gouverner le tonnerre,
Fouloit aux piés ses ennemis vaincus,
Je n'ai fait que passer, il n'étoit déjà plus.

Englified.

" I've seen the impious wretch ador'd on earth,
" And, like the cedar, hide his daring front
" High in the heavens. He seem'd to rule at
" will
" The forked thunder, and to crush his captives.—
" I only pass'd, and lo! he was no more.

Such is the grandeur of the most formidable Princes, when they themselves don't fear God; a smoke, a vapour, a shadow, a dream, a vain image:
^b *Man walketh in a vain shadow.*

But on the other side, what a noble idea do the scriptures give us of the greatness of God! ^c He is He who is. His name is the eternal; the whole world is his work. The heaven is his throne, and the earth his footstool. All nations are before him but as a drop of water, and the earth they inhabit but as a particle of dust. The whole universe is before the Almighty as tho' it were not. His

^a Esther Act. v. scene dernière.

^b Psalm. xxxix. 7.

^c Ego sum, qui sum. *Exod.* iii. 14.

Cœlum sedes mea, terra autem scabellum pedum meorum. *Isai.* lxvi. 1.

Quis mensus est pugillo aquas, & cœlos palmo ponderavit; quis appendit tribus digi-

tis molem terræ, & libavit in pondere montes, & colles in statera? . . . Ecce gentes quasi stilla situlæ, & quasi momentum stateræ reputatæ sunt: ecce insulæ quasi pulvis exiguus. . . . Omnes gentes quasi non sint, sic sunt coram eo, & quasi nihilum & inane reputatæ sunt ei. *Is.* xl. 12, 15, 17.

power and wisdom conduct it, and regulate all the motions of it with as much ease as a hand supports a light weight, with which it sports so far from being wearied by it. ^d He disposes of Kingdoms as the absolute sovereign of them, and gives them to whom he pleases; but both his empire and power are boundless.

All this appears to us great and sublime, and is indeed so when compared to us. But when we speak to men in words they are capable of understanding, what can we say that is worthy of God? The scriptures themselves sink under the weight of his majesty, and the expressions they employ, how magnificent soever they may be, bear no proportion to that greatness which only deserves to be so called.

This Job observes in a wonderful manner. After having related the wonders of the creation, he concludes with a very simple, but at the same time, very sublime reflection. ^e *Lo, these are parts of his ways, but how little a portion is heard of him? but the thunder of his power who can understand?* The little he discovers to us of his infinite grandeur, bears no proportion with what he is, and nevertheless surpasses our understanding. He stoops, and we cannot ascend to him, at the time that he descends to us. He is constrained to employ our thoughts and expressions in order to make himself intelligible; and even then, we are rather dazzled by his splendor, than truly enlightned. But how would it be should he reveal himself in all his majesty? Should he lift up the veil which softens the

^d Donec cognoscant viventes, quoniam dominatur Excelsus in regno hominum, & cuicumque voluerit, dabit illud. . . . Potestas ejus sempiterna, & regnum ejus in generationem & generationem. *Dan. vi. 14.*

^e Ecce, hæc ex parte dicta sunt viarum ejus: & cum vix parvam stillam sermonis ejus audierimus, quis poterit tonitruum magnitudinis illius intueri? *Job xxvi. 14.*

386 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

splendor of it? Should he tell us who he is, what ear could resist the thunder of his voice? What eye would not be blinded by a light so disproportionate to their weakness? *But the thunder of his power who can understand?*

VII. *Tender and affecting passages.*

One would not believe, that such great Majesty would stoop so low as it does in speaking to men, if the scripture did not give us some proofs of it in every page. The most lively, the most tender things in nature, are all too faint to express his love.

† I have nourished and brought up children, says he, by the mouth of Isaiah, and they have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider.

‡ And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem, and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard. What could have been done more to my vineyard that I have not done in it? Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?

§ They say, if a man put away his wife, and she go from him, and become another man's, shall he

† Filios enutrivi, & exaltavi: ipsi autem spreverunt me. Cognovit bos possessorem suum, & asinus iræ sepe domini sui; Israel autem me non cognovit. Isai. i. v. 2, 3.

‡ Nunc ergo, habitatores Jerusalem, & viri Juda, judicate inter me & vineam meam. Quid est quod debui ultra facere vineæ meæ, & non feci ei? An quod expectavi ut faceret uvas,

& fecit labruscas? Isai. v. 3, 4.

§ Vulgo dicitur: si dimiserit vir uxorem suam & recedens ab eo duxerit virum alterum; numquid reverteretur ad eam ultra? numquid non polluta & contaminata erit mulier illa? Tu autem fornicata es cum amatoribus multis; tamen revertere ad me, dicit Dominus, & ego suscipiam te. Jerem. iii. 1.

return unto her again? Shall not that land be greatly polluted? But thou hast played the harlot with many lovers; yet return again to me, saith the Lord.

ⁱ Harken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the remnant of the house of Israel, which are born by me, from the belly, which are carried from the womb. And even to your old age I am he, and even to hoar hairs will I carry you: I have made, and I will bear, even I will carry and will deliver you.

^k As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you; and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem.

^l But Zion said, the Lord hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget, yet will I not forget thee.

Tho' these comparisons are vastly tender, they yet are not enough so, to denote his tenderness and solicitude, for men who so little deserve it. This sovereign of the universe, does not disdain to compare himself to a hen, who has her wings perpetually extended, in order to receive her young ones under them; and he declares that the least of his servants is as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

^m O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the Prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how

ⁱ Audite me, domus Jacob, & omne residuum domus Israel, qui portamini à meo utero, qui gestamini à mea vulva. Usque ad senectam ego ipse, & usque ad canos ego portabo. Ego feci, & ego feram; ego portabo, & salvabo. *Isai.* xlv. 3, 4.

^k Quomodo si cui mater blandiatur, ita ego consolabor vos, & in Jerusalem consolabimini. *Isai.* lxvi. 13.

^l Dixit Sion: Dereliquit me Dominus, & Dominus oblitus

est mei. Numquid oblivisci potest mulier infantem suum, ut non misereatur filio uteri sui? Et si illa oblita fuerit, ego tamen non obliviscar tui. *Isai.* xlix. 14, 15.

^m Jerusalem, Jerusalem, quæ occidis Prophetas, & lapidas eos qui ad te missi sunt: quoties volui congregare filios tuos, quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas, & noluit? *Matth.* xxiii. 37.

388 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

often would I have gathered thy children together, even as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! He himself speaking of his people, says thus: "He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye.

Hence come these expressions so usual in scripture; and 'tis surprizing that creatures should dare to use them when they speak of God: "Keep me as the apple of thine eye; hide me under the shadow of thy wings. To what man, O my God, could I dare speak in this manner, and to whom could I say that I am as precious as the apple of his eyes? But you yourself inspire, and enjoin this confidence. Nothing can be more delicate or weaker than the apple of the eye; and in that respect 'tis the image of myself. Be it so, O my God, in every thing else; and multiply the succours with regard to me, as you have multiplied the precautions with regard to that, by securing it with eye-lids. *Keep me as the apple of thine eye.* My enemies surround me like birds of prey, and I cannot escape them, if I do not fly for shelter to thy bosom. You taught callow birds to withdraw beneath the shelter of their mother's wings; and have inspired mothers with a wonderful care and tenderness for their young ones. You have represented yourself in your own works; and have exhorted mankind to have recourse to you, by all the testimonies of your goodness which you have diffused in the animals and over nature. Let me presume, O my God, to put a confidence in thee, proportionate to thy goodness for me. *Hide me under the shadow of thy wings.*

Nothing can be more affecting than the admirable story of Joseph; and one can scarce refrain

• Qui tetigerit vos, tangit pupillam oculi mei. *Zach. ii. 8.*

• Custodi me ut pupillam

oculi; sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me. *Pf. xvii. 8.*

Domine & Domine oculus

from tears, ^p when we see him obliged to turn aside in order to dry his own, because his bowels yerned as the presence of Benjamin; or when after having discovered himself, he throws himself about the neck of his dear brother; and folding him in the strictest embrace, mingles his tears with those of Benjamin, and discovers the same affectionate tenderness for the rest of his brethren, over each of whom 'tis said he wept. At that instant not one of them spoke, and this silence is infinitely more eloquent than any expressions he could have employed. Surprise, grief, the remembrance of what was past, joy, gratitude, stifle their words: their heart can express itself no otherways than by tears, which would, but cannot sufficiently express their thoughts.

When we read the sad ^q lamentation of Jeremiah over the ruins of Jerusalem; when we behold that city, once so populous, reduced to a dreadful solitude; the Queen of nations, become as a disconsolate widow; the streets of Zion weeping, because no one assists at its solemnities; her priests and virgins plunged in bitterness, groaning day and night; her old men, covered with sackcloth and ashes, sighing over the sad ruin of their country; her famish'd children crying for bread, but without getting any,

^p Festinavitque, quia commota fuerant viscera ejus super fratre suo, & erumpebant lacrymæ. *Gen.* xliii. 30.

En oculi vestri, & oculi fratris Benjamin, vident quod os meum loquatur ad vos. . . Cumque amplexatus recidisset in collum Benjamin fratris sui, flevit, illo quoque similiter flente super collum ejus. Osculatusque est Joseph omnes fratres suos, & ploravit super singulos. Post quæ ausi sunt loqui ad eum.

Gen. 12, 14, 15.

^q Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo: facta est quasi vidua domina gentium? . . . Viæ Sion lugent, eo quod non sint qui veniunt ad solemnitatem. . . Sacerdotes ejus gementes: virgines ejus squalidæ. . . Sederunt in terra, conticuerunt senes filiarum Sion: consperserunt cinere capita sua, accincti sunt ciliciis. . . Parvuli petierunt panem, & non erat qui frangeret eis. *Lament.* c. i. v. 1, 4. c. ii. v. 10. c. iv. v. 4.

390 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

we are ready to cry out with the Prophet, *'O that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughters of my people.*

'Twas this deplorable state of Jerusalem, that made the Prophet vent perpetually such lively complaints, such tender prayers as these. *'Look down from heaven, and behold from the habitation of thy holiness, and of thy glory: Where is thy zeal and thy strength, the sounding of thy bowels, and of thy mercies towards me? Are they restrained? ... 'But now O Lord thou art our father: we are the clay, and thou our potter, and we are all the work of thy hand.... Behold, see, we beseech thee, we are all thy people. Thy holy cities are a wilderness, Zion is a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation. Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee, is burnt up with fire: and all our pleasant things are laid waste. Wilt thou restrain thyself for these things, O Lord? Wilt thou hold thy peace, and afflict us very sore?*

VIII. CHARACTERS.

'Tis not surprizing that the spirit of God should have described, in the scriptures, the different cha-

'Quis dabit capiti meo aquam, & oculis meis fontem lacrymarum? & plorabo die ac nocte interfectos filiae populi mei. Jerem. ix. 1.

'Attende de cælo & vide de habitaculo sancto tuo, & gloriæ tuæ. Ubi est zelus tuus, & fortitudo tua; multitudo viscerum tuorum & miserationum tuarum? super me continuerunt se. Isai. lxiii. 15.

'Et nunc, Domine, pater noster es tu. . . & factor noster

tu & opera manuum tuarum omnes nos. . . Ecce respice, populus tuus omnes nos. Civitas sancti tui facta est deserta: Sion deserta facta est: Jerusalem desolata est. Domus sanctificationis & gloriæ nostræ, ubi laudaverunt te Patres nostri, facta est in exustionem ignis; & omnia desiderabilia nostra versa sunt in ruinas. Numquid super his continebis te, Domine: tacebis, & affliges nos vehementer? Isai. lxiv. 8, to 12.

racters

acters of men in such lively colours. He implanted in our hearts, the various rational sensations of which they are susceptible; and he knows much better than we do, those which our own degeneracy has added to them.

Who does not at once see the ingenuous candour and innocent simplicity of childhood, in the relation which Joseph makes to his brethren of those dreams which were to excite their jealousy and hatred against him, and which really excited them?

When Joseph discovers himself to his family, he speaks a very few words, but then they are the expressions of nature itself; *"I am Joseph; doth my father yet live?"* This is one of those touches of eloquence which are inimitable. Josephus the historian was not struck with this beauty, or at least, did not preserve it in his relation; for the long discourse he substitutes for it, tho' very beautiful, is not in its place.

There is a passage in the Acts, which paints in a wonderful, and at the same time natural manner, a sudden and impetuous joy. St. Peter had been thrown into prison; had been miraculously released from it, when he came to the house of Mary, mother to John, where the faithful were assembled in prayer. * Having knocked at the door, a maiden named Rhoda knowing his voice, instead of opening it, (so great was the transports of her joy) she ran to the faithful, to tell them that St. Peter was at the door.

* Hæc ergo causa somniorum
atque sermonum, invidiæ &
odii fomitem ministravit. Gen.
xxxvii. 8.

* Elevavit vocem cum fletu.
& dixit fratribus suis: Ego sum
Joseph, Adhuc pater meus vi-

vit? Gen. xlv. 2, 3.

* Et ut cognovit vocem Petri,
præ gaudio non aperuit januam,
sed intrò currens nuntiavit stare
Petrum ante januam. Act. xii.

14.

392 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

Grief, particularly that of a mother, has also a peculiar language and character. I don't know whether 'twould be possible to represent them better, than we find them in the admirable story of Tobias. As soon as this dear son was set out upon his journey, his mother who loved him tenderly, was inconsolable for his absence; and being plunged in the deepest grief, she bewailed herself incessantly: But her affliction was infinitely greater, when she found he did not return at the time appointed: *My son is dead, seeing he stayeth long; and she began to bewail him, and said: Now I care for nothing, my son, since I have let thee go, the light of mine eyes. My son is dead: and she went out every day into the way which they went, and did eat no meat in the day-time, and ceased not whole nights to bewail her son Tobias.* We may judge of the effect which Tobias's return with Raphael produced. *The dog who had followed them all the way, ran before them; and as tho' he had carried the news of their arrival, he seemed to testify his joy by the motion of his tail, and his caresses. Tobias's father, tho' blind, rose up, and began to run, tho' at the hazard of falling every moment; and taking one of the servants by the hand, he ran to meet his son. Being come up to him, he embraced him, and his mother afterwards, when they both began to weep for joy. Then, after worshipping God, and returning him thanks, they sat down.* This is

⁊ Flebat igitur mater ejus irremediabilibus lacrymis, atque dicebat: Heu heu me fili mi, ut quid te misimus peregrinari, lumen oculorum nostrorum, baculum senectutis nostræ, solatium vitæ nostræ, spem posteritatis nostræ? Omnia simul in te uno habentes, te non de-

buimus dimittere à nobis. . . Illa autem nullo modo consolari poterat, sed quotidie exiliens circumspiciebat, & circuibat vias omnes per quas spes remeandi videbatur, ut procul videret eum, si fieri posset, venientem. *Tob. x. 4, 5, 7.*

a perfect

a perfect description ; and the pen-man, in order to make it still more natural, did not omit even the circumstance of the dog, which is very just.

A word which the ambitious Haman happens to let fall, discovers the whole state of that man's soul who is preyed upon by an insatiable thirst for honours. He had reached the highest point of fortune to which a mortal can attain, and every one bowed the knee to him, except Mordecai. Yet, says he to his friends in confidence, *all this availeth me nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the King's gate.* Mr. Racine did not forget this circumstance, and he has made a very happy use of it.

Dans les mains des Persans jeune enfant apporté,
Je gouverne l'empire où je fus acheté.
Mes richesses des rois égalent l'opulence.
Environné d'enfans, soutiens de ma puissance,
Il ne manque à mon front que le bandeau royal.
Cependant, des mortels aveuglement fatal !
De cet amas d'honneurs la douceur passagère.
Fait sur mon cœur à peine une atteinte légère.
Mais Mardochée assis aux portes du palais
Dans ce cœur malheureux enfonce mille traits :
Et toute ma grandeur me devient insipide,
Tandis que le soleil éclaire ce perfide.

Englified,

“ Brought when an infant into mighty Persia,
“ I rule the empire, where I once was purchas'd.
“ The richest Kings I equal now in wealth ;
“ And bless'd with children who support my power,
“ The royal diadem is all I want.
“ And yet what fatal blindness governs mortals !

^z Cum hæc omnia habeam, sedentem ante fores regias. *Esth.*
nihil me habere puto, quandiu v. 13.
videro Mardochæum Judæum

“ The

394 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

“ The transient sweets of all these mighty honours,
 “ Convey but little pleasure to my heart.
 “ But Mordecai thus seated at the gates
 “ Of the bright palace, racks my tortured soul :
 “ And all my grandeur is to me insipid,
 “ Since the bright sun enlightens still that wretch.

I shall conclude with a passage in scripture, where the suppression of a single word, describes after a wonderful manner, the character of a person whose soul is strongly fixed on an object. The spirit of God had revealed to David, that the ark would at last have a fixt habitation on mount Zion, where should be built the only temple he would have in the world. ^a This holy King, in the highest raptures, and as possessed with a holy drunkenness; without relating what past within himself, nor whom he speaks of; and supposing that the minds of the rest of mankind are wholly fixed on God, and on the mystery which had just been revealed to him, crys out; ^b *His foundation is in the holy mountains. The Lord loveth the gates of Zion, more than all the dwellings of Jacob.* He will therefore change his promises no more; and the Lord will no longer go far from Israel: His habitation will henceforward be fixed among us; his ark will wander no more; his sanctuary will no longer be uncertain, and Zion shall in all ages be the seat of his rest; his foundation is in the holy mountains.

'Tis from the same sensation that Mary Magda-

^a Repletus Spiritu sancto civis iste: & multa de amore & desiderio civitatis hujus volvens secum, tamquam plura intus apud se meditatus; erumpit in hoc, FUNDAMENTUM EJUS
S. August. in Psalm. lxxxvi.

^b Fundamenta ejus [*or rather fundatio ejus, sedes ejus fundata, firma*] in montibus sanctis. Diligit Dominus portas Sion super omnia tabernacula Jacob. *Pf. xxvi. 1, 2.*

len, when she was seeking Christ in the grave, employed wholly on the object of her love and her desires, imagining 'twas a gardiner she saw, says to him, without telling him whom she spake of, *Sir, if thou hast borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away.*

* Transported, as it were, out of herself, by the fire of her love, she thinks every one ought to think of that person whose idea possesses her whole soul; and that every one cannot but know, the person whom she is in search of.

The Psalms only would furnish a multitude of wonderful passages, wherein the various species of eloquence might be found; for the simple, the sublime, the tender, the vehement, the pathetic style. The reader may peruse what bishop Bossuet has said on this head, in the second chapter of his preface to the Psalms, entitled, *De grandiloquentia & suavitate Psalmorum*, i. e. *Of the majesty and sweetness of the Psalms*. The sprightly and sublime genius of this great man is visible in every part of it. I shall quote but one passage thereof here, which would be sufficient to shew, in what manner the beauties of the scripture may be displayed: 'tis that where * David describes a storm.

“ Sit exempli loco illa tempestas: *Dixit & ad-*
 “ *stitit spiritus procellæ: intumuerunt fluctus: as-*
 “ *cendunt usque ad cælos, & descendunt usque ad*
 “ *abyssos. Sic undæ fusque deque volvuntur. Quid*
 “ *homines? Turbati sunt, & moti sunt sicut ebrius:*
 “ *& omnis eorum sapientia absorpta est; quam*
 “ *profecto fluctuum animorumque agitationem non*
 “ *Virgilius, non Homerus, tanta verborum copia*
 “ *æquare potuerunt. Jam tranquillitas quanta;*

* John xx. 15.

* Vis amoris hoc agere solet
 in animo, ut quem ipse semper

cogitat, nullum alium ignorare
 credat. S. Gregor. Pap.

* Pl. cvi. 25. &c.

“ statuit

396 Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.

“ statuit procellam ejus in auram, & siluerunt fluctus ejus. Quid enim suavius, quam mitem in auram desinens gravis procellarum tumultus, ac mox silentes fluctus post fragorem tantum? Jam, quod nostris est proprium, majestas Dei quanta in hac voce: *Dixit, & procella adstuit?* Non hic Juno Æolo supplex, non hic Neptunus in ventos tumidis exaggeratisque vocibus sæviens, atque æstus iræ suæ vix ipse interim premens. Uno ac simplici jussu statim omnia peraguntur.

God commands, and the sea swells and is impetuous: the waves ascend to the heavens, and descend to the depth of the abyfs. God speaks, and with a single word he changes the storm into a gentle breeze, and the tumultuous agitation of the waves into a deep silence. How strong! How various are these images!



THE SONG OF MOSES,

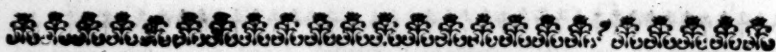
After his passage thro' the Red Sea.

Explained according to the rules of Rhetoric.

We owe the explication of this Song to Mr. *Hersan*, formerly Rhetoric Professor in the college Du Pleffis. The reader may justly expect something excellent from his name and reputation. We have thought proper to change some few things in it, which the author would not disapprove were he living.



MOSES's



CANTICUM MOYSIS.

Ver. 1. **C**ANTEMUS Domino : gloriosè enim magnificatus est. Equum & ascensorem deiecit in mare.

^a Heb. Cantabo.

Ver. 2. Fortitudo mea & laus mea Dominus, & factus est mihi in salutem. Iste Deus meus, & glorificabo eum : Deus patris mei, & exaltabo eum.

Ver. 3. Dominus quasi vir pugnator : Omnipotens, nomen ejus. Heb. Jehova, vir belli : Jehova nomen ejus.

Ver. 4. Currus Pharaonis & exercitum ejus projecit in mare : electi principes ejus submersi sunt in mari rubro.

Ver. 5. Abyssi operuerunt eos : descenderunt in profundum quasi lapis.

Ver. 6. Dexterâ tuâ, Domine, magnificata est in fortitudine : dexterâ tuâ, Domine, percussit inimicum.

Ver. 7. Et in multitudine gloriæ tuæ deposuisti adversarios tuos. Misisti iram tuam, ^b quæ devoravit eos sicut stipulam.

^b There is not, in the original, either *Quæ* or *Et*, or any other conjunction ; the expression is the stronger upon that account.

Ver. 8. Et in spiritu furoris tui congregatæ sunt aquæ : ^c stetit unda fluens : ^d congregatæ sunt abyssî in medio mari.

^c Heb. Steterunt, sicut acervus, fluentia.

^d Heb. Coagulatae sunt.

Ver. 9.



MOSES'S SONG.

Ver. 1. **I** Will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously ; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

Ver. 2. The Lord is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation : he is my God, and I will prepare him an habitation ; my father's God, and I will exalt him.

Ver. 3. The Lord is a man of war : the Lord is his name.

Ver. 4. Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea ; his chosen captains also are drowned in the Red Sea.

Ver. 5. The depths have covered them : they sank into the bottom as a stone.

Ver. 6. Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power : thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.

Ver. 7. And in the greatness of thine excellency thou hast overthrown them that rose up against thee : thou sentest forth thy wrath, which consumed them as stubble.

Ver. 8. And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together : the floods stood upright as an heap, and the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea.

Ver. 9.

400 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

Ver. 9. *Dixit inimicus : Persequar, & comprehendam : dividam spolia ; implebitur anima mea ; evaginabo gladium meum ; e interficiet eos manus mea.*

^e *Heb. Possidebit, or possidere faciet.*

Ver. 10. ^f *Flavit spiritus tuus, & operuit eos mare. Submersi sunt quasi plumbum in aquis vementibus.*

^f *Heb. Sufflalti spirituo tuo.*

Ver. 11. *Quis similis tui in g fortibus, Domine, quis similis tui, magnificus in sanctitate, h terribilis atque laudabilis, faciens mirabilia ?*

^g *The Hebrew word signifies equally Gods and strong.*

^h *Heb. Terribilis laudibus.*

Ver. 12. *Extendisti manum tuam, i & devoravit eos terra.*

ⁱ *Et is not in the Hebrew.*

Ver. 13. *Dux fuisti in misericordia tua populo quem redemisti : & k portasti eum in fortitudine tua ad habitaculum sanctum tuum.*

^k *Heb. deduces.*

Ver. 14. ^l *Astenderunt populi & irati sunt : dolores obtinuerunt habitatores Philisthiim.*

^l *Heb. Audient populi.*

Ver. 15. *Tunc conturbati sunt principes Edom : robustos Moab obtinuit tremor : m obriguerunt omnes habitatores Chanaan.*

^m *Heb. dissolventur.*

Ver. 16. *Irruat super eos formido & pavor : in magnitudine brachii tui, fiant immobiles quasi lapis, donec pertranseat populus tuus, Domine, donec pertranseat populus tuus iste, quem possedisti.*

Ver. 17.

Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings. 401

Ver. 9. The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil : my lust shall be satisfied upon them, I will draw my sword, mine hand shall destroy them.

Ver. 10. Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them : they sank as lead in the mighty waters.

Ver. 11. Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?

Ver. 12. Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, the earth swallowed them.

Ver. 13. Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people which thou hast redeemed : thou hast guided them in thy strength unto thy holy habitation.

Ver. 14. The people shall hear and be afraid : sorrow shall take hold on the inhabitants of Palestine.

Ver. 15. Then the dukes of Edom shall be amazed, the mighty men of Moab, trembling, shall take hold upon them : all the inhabitants of Canaan shall melt away.

Ver. 16. Fear and dread shall fall upon them ; by the greatness of thine arm they shall be as still as a stone : till thy people pass over, O Lord, till the people pass over, which thou hast purchased.

402 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

Ver. 17. *Introduces eos, & plantabis in monte hereditatis tuæ, firmissimo habitaculo tuo quod operatus es, Domine: Sanctuarium tuum, Domine, quod firmaverunt manus tuæ.*

Ver. 18. *Dominus regnabit in æternum, & ultra.*

Ver. 19. *Ingressus est enim eques Pharao cum curribus & equitibus ejus in mare; & reduxit super eos Dominus aquas maris: filii autem Israel ambula-verunt per ficcum in medio ejus,*



Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings. 403

Ver. 17. Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in : in the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established.

Ver. 18. The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.

Ver. 19. For the horse of Pharaoh went in with his chariots, and with his horsemen into the sea ; and the Lord brought again the waters of the sea upon them : but the children of Israel went on dry-land in the midst of the sea.





The S O N G of M O S E S,

Explained according to the rules of Rhetoric.

THIS excellent Song may justly be considered as one of the most eloquent pieces of antiquity. The turn of it is great, the thoughts noble, the style sublime and magnificent, the expressions strong, and the figures bold; every part of it abounds with images that strike the mind, and possess the imagination. This piece, which some believe was composed by Moses in Hebrew verse, surpasses the most beautiful descriptions which the Heathens have given us in this kind. Virgil and Horace, though the most perfect models of poetical eloquence, have not writ any thing comparable to it. No man can set a higher value than I do on these two great poets, and I studied them close, with the utmost pleasure, for several years. Nevertheless, when I read what Virgil wrote in praise of Augustus, in the beginning of the third Book of the ^a Georgics, and at the end of the eighth ^b Æneid; and what he makes the priest Evander sing, in the same Book, in honour of Hercules; though these passages are vastly fine, they yet appear to me groveling, when compared to the song in question. ^c Virgil methinks is all ice, and Moses all fire. The same may be affirmed of the fourteenth and fifteenth Odes of the fourth Book, and in the last of the Epodes.

^a Ver. 16, 39.^b Ver. 675, 728.^c Ver. 287.

A circum-

Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings. 405

A circumstance which seems to favour these two poets, and other profane writers, is, that we find in them a cadence, a harmony and elegance of style, which is not to be met with in the Scriptures. But then we commonly read them in a translation; and it is well known, that the best French translators of Cicero, Virgil and Horace, disfigure their authors very much. Now, the original language of the Scripture must be vastly eloquent, since there remains more in the copies of it, than in all the Latin works of antient Rome, and the Greek ones of Athens. The Scriptures are close, concise, devoid of foreign ornaments, which would only weaken their impetuosity and fire. Abhorrent of long perambulations, they go to the mark the shortest way. They love to include a great many thoughts in few words; to introduce them as so many shafts; and to make sensible such objects as are the most distant from the senses, by the lively and natural images they draw of them. In a word, the Scriptures have a greatness, strength, energy, and a majestic simplicity, which raise them above every thing that can be found in heathen eloquence. If the reader will but give himself the trouble to compare the places above cited of Virgil and Horace, with the reflections I shall now make, he will soon be convinced of the truth of this assertion.

Occasion and subject of the Song.

'Tis the great miracle which God wrought, when the children of Israel passed through the Red-Sea. The Prophet's view in it is, to give himself up to the transports of joy, admiration, and gratitude, for this great miracle: to sing the praises of God the deliverer; to offer up to him public and solemn thanks, and to inspire the people with the same ideas.

XX

EXPLICATION of the SONG.

Ver. 1. *CANTEMUS* (Heb. *cantabo*) *Domino : gloriosè enim magnificatus est. Equum & ascensorem dejecit in mare. " I will sing unto the " Lord ; for he hath triumphed gloriously, the horse " and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.*

Moses thus full of admiration, of gratitude, and joy, could he possibly have better declared the emotions of his heart, than by this impetuous exordium, in which the lively gratitude of the people delivered, and the dreadful greatness of God the deliverer are described ?

This exordium is the bare or simple proposition of the whole piece. 'Tis, as it were, the extract and point of sight, to which the several parts of the picture refer. This we must carry in our minds, as we read the song, to comprehend the artifice with which the poet draws so many beauties, so much magnificence, from a proposition which at first sight seems so simple and barren.

I will sing, is much more energetic, more affecting, more tender than it would be in the plural, *we will sing*. This victory of the Hebrews over the Egyptians, is not like those common victories which one nation gains over another, and whose fruit is general, vague, common, and almost imperceptible to every individual. Here every thing is proper to every Israelite, every thing is personal. At this first instant, every one reflects on his own chains which are broken ; every one imagines he sees his cruel master drowned ; every one is sensible of the value of his liberty which is secured to him

him for ever. For it is the nature of man's heart, in extreme dangers, to refer every thing to itself, and to consider itself as all things.

The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. This singular, *the horse, his rider*, which includes the totality of horses and riders, is much more energetic than the plural would have been. Besides, the singular denotes much better the sudden quickness of the drowning. The Egyptian cavalry was numerous, formidable, and covered whole plains. The enemy must have employed several days before they could defeat, and cut them to pieces : but God defeated them in an instant, with a single effort, at a blow. He overthrew, drowned, overwhelmed them all, as though they had been but one horse, and one rider : *The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.*

The Lord is my strength and song, &c. This is the amplification of the first words of the song, *I will sing.* Let us observe how this is displayed.

Of the several attributes of God, he praises his strength only, because 'twas he that delivered him.

My strength. This figure is energetic, for, *the cause of my strength*, which is flat and languid ; besides that *my strength* shews that God alone was to the Israelites, as courage, and dispensed with their employing their own.

My song. This is the same figure, and is equally emphatic. He is the only subject of my praise : no instrument divides it with him ; neither power, wisdom, nor human industry can be associated with him : he alone merits all my gratitude, since he alone performed, and ordained, and executed all things. *The Lord is my song.*

He is become my salvation. The writers of the Augustan ages would have writ, *hath saved me*, but the Scripture says much more. The Lord hath

408 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

undertaken to perform, himself, every thing that was required for my salvation ; he made my salvation a personal affair, and his own ; and what is much more emphatical, *he is become my salvation.*

He is my God. *He* is emphatical, and signifies much more than 'tis supposed to do at first sight. *He*, not the Gods of the Egyptians and nations ; Gods void of strength, speechless and lifeless ; but he who performed so many prodigies in Egypt and in our passage, he is my God, and him will I glorify.

My God. This *my* may have a double relation, the one to God, the other to the Israelite. In the former, God appears to be great, powerful, and a God for me only. Unattentive to the rest of the universe, he is employed wholly on my dangers and on my safety ; and is ready to sacrifice all the nations of the earth to my interest. In the second relation, *he is my God* ; I will never have any other. To him only I consecrate all my wishes, all my desires, all my confidence. He only is worthy my worship and love, and to him I will for ever pay homage.

My father's God, and I will exalt him. This repetition is inexpressibly tender. He whose grandeur I exalt, is not a strange God, unknown till this day, a protector for a moment, and ready to assist any other. No : he is the antient protector of my family : his goodness is hereditary. I have a thousand domestic proofs of his constant love, perpetuated from father to son, till I was the object of it. His antient kindnesses were so many titles and pledges which assured me of the like. He is the God of my father : he is the God who displayed himself so often to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. In fine, he is the God who just now fulfilled the mighty promises which he had made to my forefathers.

What

What has he done to effect this? *The Lord is a man of war.* He might have said, as he is the God of armies, he has delivered us from the army of Pharaoh, but this was saying too little. He considers his God as a soldier, as a captain; he puts, as it were, the sword into his hand, and makes him fight for the children of Jacob.

The Lord is a man of war; the Lord is his name. In the Hebrew it is *Jehovah is a man of war, Jehovah is his name.* Moses insists on the word *Jehovah*, the better to shew, by this repetition, who this extraordinary warrior is, who deigned to fight for Israel. As though he had said, *Jehovah, the Lord, has appeared like a warrior.* Is what I now say well understood? Is this miracle comprehended in its full latitude? Yes I again repeat: 'Tis the supreme God in person, 'tis the only God; 'tis to say all in one word, he who is called *Jehovah*, whose name is incommunicable, who alone possesses all the fullness of being; he is become the champion of Israel. Himself has been to them instead of soldiers. He took upon himself the whole weight of the war. ^b *The Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your Peace,* said Moses to the Israelites before the battle; as though he had said, you shall be still and not fight.

Ver. 4. & 5. *Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea; his chosen captains are also drowned in the Red-sea. The depths have covered them, they sank into the bottom as a stone.*

Observe the pompous display of all that is contained in these two words, *the horse and his rider.*

1. *Pharaoh's chariots.* 2. *His hosts.* 3. *His chosen captains.* A beautiful gradation.

^a Qui est . . . Ego sum, qui sum.

^b Exod. xiv. 14.

How

410 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

How wonderful is this amplification! *He cast into the sea. They are drowned in the Red-Sea. The depths have covered them; they sank into the bottom as a stone; all this to explain, He has thrown into the sea.* We observe in these words, a series of images which succeed one another and swell by degrees. 1. *He cast into the sea.* 2. *They are drowned in the Red-sea. They are drowned,* improves on *He cast . . . In the Red-sea,* is a circumstance which fixes more than simply, *the sea.* (The Hebrew has it, in the *sea Supb.*) One would conclude that Moses was desirous of heightning the greatness of the power which God exhibited in a sea which formed part of the Egyptian empire, and which was under the protection of the ^c Gods of Egypt. 3. *His chosen captains,* the greatest of Pharaoh's princes: that is to say, the proudest, and perhaps those who opposed with greatest violence the laws of the God of Israel; in a word, those who were most able to save themselves from the shipwreck, are swallowed up like the meanest soldiers. 4. *The depths have covered them.* What an image is here! They are covered, overwhelmed, vanished for ever. 5. To compleat this picture, he concludes with a simile, which is, as it were, the strong touch which points out the thing; *they sank into the bottom as a stone.* Notwithstanding their pride and haughtiness, they make no greater resistance to rise up against the arm of God who plunges them, than a stone that sinks to the bottom of the waters.

After this what should Moses think, what should he say? One of the most important rules of rhetoric, and which Cicero never fails to observe, is, that after an account of a surprizing action, or even of an extraordinary circumstance, the writer must leave the calm and easy air proper to narra-

^c Beelsephon.

tion,

tion, and deliver himself with more or less impetuosity as the subject may require ; this is commonly done by apostrophes, interrogations, exclamations, all which figures enliven both the discourse and the hearer. All this Moses has performed imitably in the song before us.

Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in thy power : thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.

Several particulars may be observed here.

1. Moses might have said ; *God has displayed his strength by striking Pharaoh.* But how faintly, in how languid a manner would this express so great an action ! He springs towards God, and says to him in a kind of enthusiasm, *Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious, &c.*

2. He might have said, *O Lord, thou hast displayed thy strength, &c.* But this idea is not strong enough, and does not convey a sensible idea to the mind ; but in Moses's expression, we see, we distinguish, as it were, the Almighty's hand, which extends itself, and crushes the Egyptians. Whence I conclude at once, that the true eloquence is that which persuades ; that it commonly persuades no other way than by touching ; that it touches by things and palpable ideas only ; and that for these several reasons ; no eloquence is so perfect as that of the holy Scriptures, since the most spiritual and metaphysical things, are there represented by sensible and lively images.

3. *Thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.* A most beautiful repetition ! and very necessary to give a stronger idea of the power of God's arm. The first member of the period, *thy right hand is become glorious in power*, having hinted only at the event in loose and general terms, the Prophet thinks he has not said enough ; and to denote the manner of this action, he immediately repeats,

412 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

repeats, *thy right hand hath dashed in pieces the enemy.* 'Tis the nature of great passions, to repeat those circumstances which foment them, as appears from all the passionate places in the best authors; and as is seen in the Sacred Writings, particularly in the Psalms.

4. *In the greatness of thine excellency thou hast overthrown them that rose up against thee.* So many great beauties are concealed in the original text, that they merit some illustration.

1. By these words, *in the greatness of thine excellency*, the sacred Writer would describe the action of a nobleman of figure, who assumes a haughty air, who rises in proportion as an impotent inferior presumes to rise against him, and is pleased to sink him the lower upon that very account. The Egyptians looked upon themselves as very great; they even attacked God himself, and asked with a haughty tone. ^d *Who is then the Lord?* But as these feeble, though insolent creatures rose, God rose also, and assumed all the elevation of his infinite grandeur, all the height of his supreme majesty against them: ^e *The proud he knoweth afar off.* And 'tis from thence he overthrew his enemies who were so full of themselves, and hurled them, not only against the earth, but down into the most profound abysses of the sea.

2. *That rose up against THEE.* 'Twas not against Israel that the Egyptians declared war, but 'tis You they presumed to attack; 'tis You they defied. Our quarrel was yours; 'twas against You they warred; *against Thee*, This is a delicate, affecting turn, in order to engage God himself in Israel's cause.

Ver. 7. *Thou settest forth thy wrath, which consumed them as stubble.*

^d Exod. v. 2.

^e Psal. cxxxviii. 6.

Ver. 8. *And with the blast of my nostrils the waters are gathered together; the floods stood upright as an heap, and the depths are congealed in the heart of the sea.*

Ver. 9. *The enemy said I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil; my lust shall be satisfied upon them, I will draw my sword, mine hand shall destroy them.*

Ver. 10. *Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them: they sank as lead in the mighty waters.*

Moses returns to the narration, not as in the fourth and fifth verses by a mere description, but in continuing his apostrophe to God, which makes the relation more passionate, in which this song appears to me conducted in a manner superior to human eloquence. The more it deviates from the simple proposition which serves as an exordium to it, the stronger are its amplifications.

Thou sentest forth thy wrath. How great is this figure! How noble the expression! The Prophet gives action and life to God's anger: he transforms it into an ardent and zealous minister, whom the judge sends calmly from his throne to execute the decrees of his vengeance. When Kings would fight their enemies, they stand in need of infantry, cavalry, arms, and a long train of warlike instruments; but to God, his wrath alone can punish the guilty. *Thou sentest forth thy wrath.* How many things are comprized in two or three words, which leave to the reader the pleasure of enumerating in his imagination the fires, the flashes of lightning, the thunderbolts, the storms and all the other instruments of this wrath! The beauty of this expression is better felt than expressed; we find a certain depth in it, a something, which employs and fills the mind. Horace had this figure in view
in

414 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

in the expression *Iracunda fulmina*, and Virgil hit upon it in the ingenious composition of the thunder, described in the eighth book of the *Æneid*.

———*Sonitumque, metumque*
Miscebant operi, flammisque sequacibus iras.

What was then the effect of this dreadful wrath? *It consumed them as stubble?* The Scripture only can furnish us with such images. Let us consider this thought attentively. We shall see the wrath of God consuming a prodigious army. Men, horses, chariots, all are dashed, consumed, overwhelmed; How weak are these synonymous terms! All these are consumed, that would be saying all, but the simile which follows finishes the picture; for the word *consume* gives us the idea of an action that lasts some time; but, *as stubble*, shews an instantaneous action. How! so mighty an army as this consumed like stubble! The reader should consider the force of these ideas.

But how was this affected? God, by a furious wind, assembled the waters, which swelled like two mountains in the midst of the sea. The children of Israel past over it as on dry land; the Egyptians pursuing them into it were swallowed up by the waves. This is a plain and unembellished relation; but how beautiful, how majestic is the turn which is given to it in Scripture! I should never have done should I examine them particularly. I am charmed with the whole song, but this passage transports me.

With the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together. The Prophet ennobles the wind by making God himself the principle of it; and animates the waters, by representing them susceptible

tible of fear. The better to paint the divine indignation, and its effects, he borrows the image of human wrath, whose lively transports are accompanied with a precipitated breathing, which causes a violent and impetuous blast. And when this wrath, in a powerful person, directs itself towards a fearful populace, it forces them, for their own security, to give way, and to fall in a tumultuous manner one upon the other. 'Tis thus that *with the blast of the Lord's nostrils*, the frightened waters withdrew with impetuosity, from their usual bed, and crouded suddenly one upon the other, in order to give way to this wrath; whereas the Egyptians who came in the way of this wrath were consumed like stubble. We often meet with such a description of the divine wrath in the Scriptures, *'The sea saw it and fled . . . & Then the channels of waters were seen, and the foundations of the world were discovered, at thy rebuke, O Lord, at the blast of the breath of thy nostrils'*^h *There went up a smook out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured; coals were kindled by it.* Are we to wonder that a wrath like this should overthrow and swallow up every thing?

The depths were congealed in the heart of the sea. That is, the waters were bound up, and frozen like ice. *The depths* give us a much more dreadful idea than *waters*. *In the heart of the sea*; this circumstance is very emphatic; it fixes the imagination, and makes us image to ourselves mountains of solid waters in the center of the liquid element.

The two verses that follow are inexpressibly beautiful. Instead of barely saying, as was before

^f Mare vidit, & fugit. Apparuerunt fontes aquarum ab increpatione tua Domine, ab inspiratione spiritus iræ tuæ.
 . . . Ascendit fumus in ira ejus,

& ignis à facie [*Heb. ex ore*] ejus exarsit: carbonēs succensī sunt ab eo. Psal. cxiv. 3.

^g Psal. xviii. 15.

^h Ibid. ver. 8.

observed,

observed, that the Egyptians by their pursuing the Israelites, went into the sea; the Prophet himself enters into the heart of those barbarians, puts himself in their place, assumes their passions, and makes them speak; not that they had really spoke, but because a thirst of vengeance and a strong desire of pursuing the Israelites, was the language of their hearts, which Moses made them utter, in order to vary his narration and to make it stronger.

The enemy said, instead of the Egyptians said. This singular, the enemy, all this is beautiful.

I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil, &c. We read, and we perceive a palpable vengeance in these words, as we read them. The sacred Penman has not put a conjunction to any of the six words which compose the Egyptian soldiers discourse, in order to give it the greater spirit, and to express more naturally the disposition of a man whose soul is fired, who discourses with himself, and does not mind to connect his words with particles, his words requiring the utmost freedom and liberty.

Another writer would have stop'd here, but Moses goes farther. *My lust shall be satisfied upon them.* He might have said, *I will divide the spoil, and I will fill myself with them.* But, *my lust shall be satisfied upon them*, represents them as rioting on spoils and swimming in joy.

I will draw my sword, mine hand shall destroy them. The Vulgate runs thus. *I will unsheath my sword, and my hand shall kill them.* The reflection that follows, which is very beautiful, supposes this sense. They are no less affected with the pleasure of killing their enemies, than that of plundering them. Let us see how he describes this. He might have said in one word, *I will kill them*; but this would have been too quick; he gives them the pleasure of a long vengeance. I well unsheath

my sword. How great is this image! It even strikes the reader's eye, *Mine hand shall destroy them.*

This *mine hand*, is inexpressibly beautiful. This expression represents a foldier who is sure of victory : we see him looking about, moving up and down, and stretching forth his arm. My fear for the children of Israel makes me tremble. Great God! what wilt thou do to save them! A numberless multitude of Barbarians are furiously hasting to revenge and conquer. Can all the shafts of thy wrath check the impetuosity of thine enemies? The Almighty blows, and the sea has already surrounded them. *Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them.*

It must be confessed that this reflection is very strong, eloquent, and well adapted to form the taste, for which reason I thought the reader ought not to be deprived of it. But I must be obliged to confess, that the Hebrew text, instead of *mine hand shall destroy them*, has it thus, *Mine hand shall again subject them to me ; my hand shall triumph over them, my hand shall again put me in possession of those fugitives.* And indeed, this was the real motive which prompted the Egyptians to pursue the Israelites, as the Scriptures manifestly declare. ⁱ *And it was told the King of Egypt, that the people fled ; and the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was turned against the people ; and they said, Why have we done this, that we have let Israel go from serving us ?* Pharaoh therefore and his officers, did not intend to kill and extirpate the Israelites, which would have been against their own interest ; but they designed to force them, sword in hand, to return into captivity, and work again in the public edifices.

ⁱ Exod. xiv. 5.

418 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

Methinks, there is also a great beauty in this expression, *Mine hand shall again subject them to me.* The God of the Israelites had declared that he would free the Egyptians from their captivity, and deliver them from their hard servitude by the strength of his arm. * *I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage; and I will redeem you with a stretched out arm.* He had often caused Pharaoh to be told, that he would stretch out his hand upon him, in his servants, in his fields, and his cattle; that he would shew him that he was the Master and the Lord, by stretching out his hand over all Egypt, and by rescuing his people out of their captivity. ¹ *The Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord, when I stretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of Israel from among them.* Here the Egyptian who already fancies himself victorious, insults the God of the Hebrews. He seems to reproach him for the weakness of his arm, and the emptiness of his threats; and says to himself in the drunkenness of an insolent joy, and in the transports of a foolish confidence: Notwithstanding what the God of Israel hath said, *Mine hand shall again subject them to me.*

10. *Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them, they sank as lead in the mighty waters. Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them.* Could Moses have possibly given us a nobler idea of the power of God? He only blows, and he at once overwhelms a numberless multitude of forces. This is the true sublime. *Let there be light, and there was light,* can any thing be greater?

The sea covered them. How many ideas are in-

* Exod. vi. 6.

Ibid. ix. 3, & 15.

¹ Exod. vii. 5.

cluded in four words! How easy are the words! But what a croud of ideas! 'Tis on this occasion we may apply what Pliny says of Timanthus the painter: *In omnibus ejus operibus plus intelligitur, quàm pingitur . . . ut ostendat etiam qua occultat.*

Any other writer but Moses would have let his fancy take wing. He would have given us a long detail, and a train of useless, insipid descriptions; he would have exhausted his whole subject; and have degraded his subject, and tired the reader, by an empty pomp of words and a copious abundance. But here God blows, the sea obeys, it pours upon the Egyptians, and they are all swallowed up. Was ever description so full, so lively, so strong as this! There is no interval between God's blowing and the dreadful miracle he performs in order to save his people. *Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them.*

They sank as lead in the mighty waters. Reflect attentively on this last touch, which assists the imagination and finishes the picture.

Ver. 11. *Who is like unto thee, O Lord, amongst the Gods? Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?* 12. *Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, the earth swallowed them.*

To the wonderful relation abovementioned, succeeds a wonderful expression of praise. The greatness of this miracle required this vivacity of sensation and gratitude. And how, indeed, could it be possible for the writer not to be transported, and carried, as it were, out of himself, at the sight of such a wonder? He employs the interrogation, the comparison, the repetition, all which figures are naturally expressive of admiration and rapture.

Glorious in holiness, &c. 'Tis impossible to imitate the lively, concise style of the text, which consists of three little members, detached one from the other, and each of which consists of two or

420 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

three pretty short words, *Glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders.* 'Tis as difficult to render the sense of it, how diffusive soever the version may be made, which besides makes it flat and languid, whereas the Hebrew is full of fire and vivacity.

Ver. 13. *Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people . . . thou hast guided them in thy strength unto thy holy habitation, &c.*

This, and the four following verses, are a prophetic declaration of the glorious protection which God had indulged his people after having brought them out of Egypt. They every where abound with the strongest and most affecting images. The reader does not know which to admire most ; ° God's tenderness for his people, whose guide and conductor he himself will be, by preserving them during the whole journey, like the apple of his eyes, as he declares in another place : and carrying them on his shoulders, as an eagle bears her young ones : or his formidable power, which causing terror and dread to walk before it, freezes, with fear, all such nations as should presume to oppose the passage of the Israelites thro' the Red Sea, and strikes those nations so that they become motionless as a stone : or lastly, God's wonderful care, to settle them in a fixt and permanent manner in the promised land, or rather to plant them in it : *thou shalt plant in the mountain of thine inheritance* ; an emphatic expression, and which alone recalls all that the Scriptures observe in so many places, of the care which God had taken to plant this beloved vine ; to water it, surround it with hedges and ditches, and to multiply and extend to a great distance, its fruitful branches.

Ver. 18, 19. *The Lord shall reign for ever and*

° Deut. xxxii. 10, 11.
ever.

ever. For the horse of Pharaoh went in with his chariots, and with his horsemen into the sea, and the Lord brought again the waters of the sea upon them; but the children of Israel went on dry land in the midst of the sea.

This concludes the whole song, by which Moses promises God in the name of all the people, to bear eternally in their minds, the signal delivery which God had wrought in their favour.

Possibly this conclusion may appear too simple, when compared to the verses which go before it. But methinks there is as much art in this simplicity as in the rest of the song. And indeed, after Moses had moved and raised the minds of the people by so many great expressions and violent figures, 'twas proper, and agreeable to the rules of rhetoric, to end his song with a plain, simple exposition, not only to unbend the minds of his hearers, but also to give them an idea, without employing figures, turns, or a pomp of words, of the greatness of this miracle which God had just before wrought in his favour.

The delivery of the Jewish people out of Egypt, is the most wonderful prodigy we read of in the Old Testament. God mentions it a thousand times in the scriptures; he speaks of it, if I may be allowed the expression, with a kind of complacency; he relates it as the most shining proof of the strength of his all-powerful arm. And indeed, 'tis not a single prodigy, but a long series of prodigies, each more wonderful than the other. 'Twas fit that the beauty of a song, which was written to perpetuate the remembrance of this miracle, should equal the greatness of the subject: and it was impossible but this should be so, since the same God who wrought those wonders, dictated also the song.

422 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

But what beauty, grandeur and magnificence should we discover in it, were we permitted to pierce the mysterious sense which is concealed beneath the veil of this mighty delivery? For it must be allowed, that this delivery out of Egypt covers and represents other deliverances? ^p The authority of St. Paul, that of all tradition and the prayers of the church, oblige us to consider it as a type of the freedom which the Christian obtains by the waters of baptism, and his delivery from the yoke of the Prince of this world. The Revelations mention another use of this delivery, by shewing those who have overcome the beast, holding the harps of God in their hands, and singing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, ^q *Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord, God Almighty &c.*

Now as the scriptures declare, that the wonders of the second deliverance will surpass infinitely those of the first, and will entirely blot out the remembrance of it; we may believe, that the beauties of the spiritual sense of this song, would quite eclipse those of the historical sense.

But I am far from being able to display these wonders, and indeed they don't suit this work, in which I have attempted to form the taste of youth, in matters of eloquence. This explication of Moses's song, may be more effectual to this purpose, than any other piece, and I believed that the publick would be pleased with what I have now given. The author's modesty had buried it, as it were, in darkness, and therefore the reader will not be displeased, to find it published by his scholar, as a testimony of the gratitude he owes to so excellent a master. He not only bore this character with regard to me, but likewise that of a

^p 1 Cor. xi. 10.

^q Rev. xv. 3.

father, having always loved me as his son. Mr. Hersan had taken the utmost care of me whilst I was under his happy tuition, he designing me, even at that time, for his successor; and indeed I was so in the second class, in rhetoric and in the royal college. I may assert without flattery, that no man was ever more capable than this gentleman, to point and illustrate the beautiful passages in authors, or to raise an emulation in youth. The funeral oration of the chancellor Le Tellier which Mr. Hersan delivered in the Sorbonne, and which is the only piece of his, in prose, which he suffered to be printed, is sufficient to shew the exquisite delicacy of his taste: and his verses which are published, may be considered as so many standards in their kind. But then he was much more valuable for his virtues than for his genius. Goodness, simplicity, * modesty, disinterestedness, a contempt for riches, a generosity carried almost to excess, such were his qualities. He made no other advantage of the entire confidence which a powerful † minister placed in him, than to do good to others. As soon as I was chosen principal of the college of Beauvais, he sacrificed, for my sake, and from his love to the publick, two thousand crowns, to repair and make the necessary embellishments which were wanting there. But the last years of his life, tho' spent in obscurity and retirement, are more conspicuous than the rest. He withdrew to Compiègne his native place. There, secluded from company, wholly employed in the study of the scriptures, which had always been his delight; meditating perpetually on § death and eternity, he devoted himself entirely to the ser-

* He would never suffer himself to be elected Rector (Principal) of the University.

† Mr. de Louvois.

§ He published a collection of

the extracts he had made on this subject, entitled, Edifying Meditations upon Death, taken from the words of scripture and of the fathers.

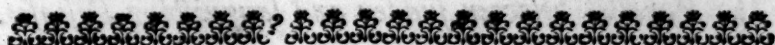
424 *Of the Eloquence of the Sacred Writings.*

vice of the poor children of the city. He built a school for their use, and 'tis perhaps the finest in the Kingdom, and left a stipend for a master. He himself taught them very often, and generally had some of them at his table. He cloathed several of them; distributed rewards from time to time among them, in order to incourage them to study: and his greatest consolation was, to think, that after his death these children would offer up the same prayer for him, that the famous Gerson, when he condescended to teach school in Lyons, had desired by his last will, of those he had taught: *My God, My Creator, have pity on your poor servant John Gerson.* He had the happiness to die poor, in some measure, in the midst of the poor, he having scarce enough left, for a foundation of the *sisters of charity* appointed to instruct girls, and to take care of the sick. I hope the reader will pardon this digression, since the sole motive of it is, in order to express my gratitude to a master to whom I am so highly obliged,



The End of the Second Volume.

THE
CONTENTS.
BOOK the THIRD.



OF RHETORIC. Pag. i.

CHAP. I.

O*F the Precepts of Rhetoric.* 3

CHAP. II.

<i>Of Composition.</i>	8
ARTICLE I. <i>Of Themes.</i>	ibid.
ARTICLE II. <i>An Essay on the method of fitting youth for exercises, by word of mouth, or by writing.</i>	17
I. <i>Encomium of Cæsar's clemency.</i>	18
<i>Cæsar's clemency in pardoning Marcellus, is much more glorious than all his victories.</i>	ibid.
<i>A subject in writing, for a French Theme.</i>	23
<i>The precedent topic is thus handled by M. Mascaron, in the funeral oration of M. Turenne.</i>	24
<i>The same topic taken from M. Flebier.</i>	26

DESCRIPTIONS.

I. <i>The retired life of M. de Lamoignon in the country, during the vacation.</i>	29
II. <i>The modesty of M. Turenne. His private life.</i>	30
III. <i>The</i>	

The Contents.

- | | |
|--|----|
| III. <i>The honourable reception M. de Turenne met with from the King, upon his return from the campaign. His modesty.</i> | 31 |
| IV. <i>The Queen of England's escape by sea.</i> | 33 |

P A R A L L E L S.

- | | |
|---|-------|
| I. <i>Parallel between M. Turenne and the Cardinal de Bouillon.</i> | 34 |
| II. <i>Parallel between sudden and languishing Diseases.</i> | 35 |
| III. <i>Parallel. The Queen serving the poor in the Hospital, and sharing in the King's glory and triumphs.</i> | 36 |
| IV. <i>Parallel between a wicked and an ignorant Judge.</i> | ibid. |
| Common Places. | 37 |

C H A P. III.

- | | |
|---|----|
| <i>Of the reading and explanation of Authors.</i> | 48 |
|---|----|

S E C T I O N I.

- | | |
|---|----|
| <i>Of the three different kinds or characters of Eloquence.</i> | 51 |
| ARTICLE I. <i>Of the simple kind.</i> | 54 |
| ARTICLE II. <i>Of the sublime.</i> | 64 |
| ARTICLE III. <i>Of the mediate kind.</i> | 76 |
| ARTICLE IV. <i>General reflections on the three kinds of Eloquence.</i> | 84 |

S E C T I O N II.

- | | |
|--|----|
| <i>What must chiefly be observed in reading or expounding Authors.</i> | 92 |
| ARTICLE I. <i>Of Argument and Proofs.</i> | 93 |

Explanation

The Contents.

<i>Explanation of a speech in Livy.</i>	101
ARTICLE II. <i>Of thoughts.</i>	106
<i>The combat of the Horatii and the Curiatii.</i>	108
<i>Different reflections upon thoughts.</i>	115
<i>Of shining thoughts.</i>	126
I. <i>Conference between Demaratus and Xerxes.</i>	130
II. <i>Seneca's reflection upon a saying of Augustus.</i>	134
III. <i>Another thought of Seneca upon the scarcity of sincere friends.</i>	137
ARTICLE III. <i>Of the choice of words.</i>	140
ARTICLE IV. <i>Of the order and disposition of words.</i>	149

E X A M P L E S. 155

<i>A second method of order or disposition.</i>	158
ARTICLE V. <i>Of Figures.</i>	161
<i>Figures of Words.</i>	162
1. <i>For ornament.</i>	166
2. <i>To heighten low and common thoughts.</i>	167
3. <i>To soften harsh expressions.</i>	ibid.
<i>The Antithesis, Distribution, and such like Figures.</i>	172
<i>Figures of Allusion.</i>	177
<i>Figures with regard to thoughts.</i>	179
1. <i>To address inanimate things.</i>	185
2. <i>To give speech to things inanimate.</i>	186

I M A G E S. 194

ARTICLE VI. <i>Of oratorical Precautions.</i>	198
ARTICLE VII. <i>Of the Passions.</i>	206

S E C T I O N III.

<i>Of the Eloquence of the Bar.</i>	221
-------------------------------------	-----

ARTICLE

The Contents.

ARTICLE I. Of the models of Eloquence proper for the Bar.	ibid.
<i>Extracts from Demosthenes and Æschines.</i>	225
<i>Extracts from the first Philippic of Demosthenes.</i>	ibid.
<i>Extract from the second Olynthian.</i>	226
<i>Extract of the harangue concerning the Chersonesus.</i>	229
<i>From the third Philippic.</i>	231
<i>Extracts of Æschines's harangue.</i>	233
<i>Extracts of Demosthenes's harangue for Ctesiphon.</i>	238
<i>The success of the two orations.</i>	246
I. The Judgments of the Antients on Æschines and Demosthenes.	247
II. Of Cicero's Eloquence compared with that of Demosthenes.	255
ARTICLE II. How Youth may prepare themselves for pleading.	273
Demosthenes.	ibid.
Cicero.	277
<i>Reflections upon what has been now offered.</i>	288
ARTICLE III. Of the Lawyer's morals.	293
I. Probity.	ibid.
II. Disinterestedness.	295
III. Delicacy in the choice of Causes.	297
IV. Prudence and moderation in pleading.	299
V. Wise emulation remote from mean and low jealousy.	301

SECTION IV.

Of the Eloquence of the Pulpit.	304
---------------------------------	-----

FIRST PART.

Of the manner in which a Preacher must deliver himself.	ibid.
I. Duty	

The Contents.

I. Duty of a Preacher.	305
<i>To instruct, and for that end to speak clearly.</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>The necessity of perspicuity in Catechists.</i>	308
II. Duty of a Preacher.	312
<i>To please, and for that end, to speak in a florid and</i>	
<i>polite manner.</i>	<i>ibid.</i>

FIRST DEFECT.

<i>Taking too much pains about the Ornaments.</i>	317
---	-----

SECOND FAULT.

<i>The being too negligent of the Ornaments of Speech.</i>	320
III. Duty of a Preacher.	328
<i>To touch and affect his Auditors, by the strength of</i>	
<i>his Discourse.</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Extract from St. Austin.</i>	331
<i>Extract from St. Cyprian.</i>	333
<i>Extracts from St. J. Chrysostom against Oaths.</i>	335
<i>Extract of St. Chrysostom's discourse on Eutropius's</i>	
<i>disgrace.</i>	338
<i>Extract from the first Book of the Priesthood.</i>	343

PART II.

<i>The learning requisite in a Christian Orator.</i>	347
<i>Of the study of the Scriptures.</i>	348
<i>The study of the Fathers.</i>	354

SECTION V.

<i>Of the Eloquence of the sacred Writings.</i>	357
I. <i>Simplicity of the mysterious Writings.</i>	360
II. <i>Simplicity and Grandeur.</i>	362
III. <i>The beauty of the Scripture does not arise from</i>	
<i>the words, but the things.</i>	368
IV. <i>DESCRIP-</i>	

The Contents.

IV. DESCRIPTION.	370
V. FIGURES.	376
1. <i>The Metaphor and Simile.</i>	ibid.
2. <i>Repetition.</i>	377
<i>Apostrophe, Prosopopeia.</i>	378
VI. <i>Sublime Passages.</i>	380
VII. <i>Tender and affecting Passages.</i>	386
VIII. <i>Characters.</i>	390
<i>The Song of Moses, after his passage through the Red Sea.</i>	397
<i>Moses's Song.</i>	399
<i>The Song of Moses, explained according to the rules of Rhetoric.</i>	404
<i>Occasion and subject of the Song.</i>	405
<i>Explication of the Song.</i>	406



In the PRESS,

An english translation of,

THE ANTIEN HISTORY of the EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, MEDES, PERSIANS, MACEDONIANS and GREEKS. By Mr. Rollin, formerly Rector or Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

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VOL. III and IV. containing the History of the Persians and Greeks, will be published the beginning of June next.

VOL. V and VI. containing the sequel of the History of the Persians and Greeks, &c. will be published in November next.

VOL. VII and VIII. (which completes the whole) are not yet printed at Paris, but are expected in a very few Months, so that the translation of these two Volumes will be published next January.

